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PRAVDA Charges Moscow Plotted With U.S. Against Serbia, Azerbaijan

PM2304114993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 7

["Own information" report: "Compact of Power Behind People's Backs. Details of Kozyrev's and Shaposhnikov's Recent Deals on Serbia and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] As is known, during the Vancouver meeting of the U.S. and Russian presidents, B. Clinton promised broad and multifaceted support for B. Yeltsin in implementing his present policy. The day before the world had learned of Clinton's aphoristic explanation that U.S. aid for Yeltsin is "an investment in our own future."

But it turns out that it was a matter not only of aphorisms. The aid promised by the U.S. President had a quite specific, real price.

We know that the Americans are a businesslike people. This time too, as has been learned from informed sources, when talks were being held on the eve of Vancouver, Clinton demanded that Boris Nikolayevich fulfill certain conditions. The price was paid, and the U.S. side's conditions fulfilled. What kind of conditions were they?

The U.S. Armenian community demanded (it is possible to write "requested") that Russia give aid—military aid, of course—to Armenia and Karabakh in striking against Azerbaijan. It is being said that all intelligence activity, all high-power fire strikes, and most strikes of a combined-arms nature have been inflicted by Russian troops there—more accurately, by the special-purpose troops.

Another condition concerned Yugoslavia. It consisted of Russia's support for the U.S. resolution on bombing Serbia in accordance with the methods the Americans used previously in Iraq. A ministerial instruction on obligatory support for the U.S. position with deferment of the Security Council vote until 26 April (after the Russian referendum) flew from the high-rise building on Moscow's Smolensk Square to the Russian representative at the United Nations. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, sent his subordinate specialists an instruction to give their NATO colleagues all possible assistance and help in the radar guidance of aircraft onto Serbian cities.

Now there is information that a group of NATO generals is expected in Moscow at the beginning of May, to whom corresponding data will be passed.

The said facts account for the Yugoslav mission of a group of deputies of the Russian parliament headed by Ye. Ambartsumov to Serbia. The speaker of the Russian parliament learned of the Foreign Ministry's instructions sent to New York. It is said, however, that after a conversation with the speaker, when appropriate instructions were obtained from him, Deputy Ambartsumov also met with Kozyrev, who confirmed his intention to give Ambartsumov the post of Russian ambassador to Italy already promised him. Thus, it is only possible to guess whose instructions Deputy Ambartsumov was carrying out during his trip.

In conclusion, one more point of information, which does not require any comment. NATO's General Shalikashvili has received from Marshal Shaposhnikov assurances that the CIS troops subordinate to him will fulfill any of the NATO leadership's instructions concerning the situation in Serbia.

It is being said that NATO generals will come to Moscow on the initiative of G. Shakhnazarov, former assistant to the USSR president now working for the Gorbachev Foundation, and that the game over Serbia is being conducted with the participation of the former president of the USSR himself, who is trying thereby to compromise Yeltsin.

In short, I would not like to believe all this, but....

Shaposhnikov Terms Charges 'Complete Lies'

LD2204181093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Pugacheva, including recorded remarks by Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The political working day in Moscow is overwhelmed as never before with mutual accusations, as well as denials, by political opponents.

[Pugacheva] PRAVDA today accuses Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev of plotting with U.S. President Clinton and NATO generals. Without any proof whatsoever, the newspaper announces that in return for support for Boris Yeltsin and his policies, Russia has allegedly promised the Americans to give Armenia military assistance and support a U.S. resolution on bombing Serbia.

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I would call this highly ambiguous article complete lies and slander, and, if you like, political provocation as well. I personally know President Yeltsin's position and that of Minister Kozyrev, and my personal position is to resolve the Yugoslav problem by political means alone, without using force—not to mention external force.

UN Security Council Receives Yeltsin Offer To Mediate Karabakh Conflict

LD2304090293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0629 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations April 23 TASS—The United Nations Security Council received with satisfaction Russian President Boris Yeltsin's initiative to mediate in

finding a solution to the aggravated conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, Yuliy Vorontsov, Russian permanent representative at the United Nations said in an interview with ITAR-TASS after consultations in the Security Council on Thursday.

During the consultations the Security Council considered the latest events in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The Russian delegation submitted the initiative made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin regarding the mediation between the two parties.

Both President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan and Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia in their respective replies agreed to the Russian president's mediation proposal in finding a solution to the aggravated conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenian leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh also accepted this mediation.

The Russian representative indicated that proposals worked out within the framework of this mediation offer are at present under consideration of the leadership of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

These proposals provide for the withdrawal of Karabakh Armenians from the Kelbadzhar area and other places in Azerbaijan, occupied during their offensive on March 27 as well as complete ceasefire everywhere, cessation of all hostilities, including the removal of sieges and also an immediate resumption of the Minsk peace process and dispatch of CSCE observers to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Delegation Leaders Meet on Sidelines of Ozal Funeral

LD2204124393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] A Georgian state delegation led by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, took part in the funeral ceremony yesterday for Turkish President Turgut Ozal. Among the members of the delegation were Aslan Abahidze, chairman of the Supreme Council of Adzharia, and Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze.

Also yesterday, at [words indistinct] at the initiative of Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze a meeting was held between Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Apart from Eduard Shevardnadze, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha, and Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin took part in the meeting. This meeting became the focus of world attention and some observers put it as the first issue on their priority list [words indistinct].

Also yesterday, a face-to-face meeting and dialogue took place between the leaders of the two [word indistinct] countries, Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Abulfaz Elchibey.

In the course of the day the head of the Georgian state had numerous meetings with leaders from some of the 160 delegations from around the world. Before the funeral ceremony started head of state Eduard Shevardnadze met and talked with Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, and leaders of the delegations from Saudi Arabia, [words indistinct]

At a meeting with the Armenian president it was decided that Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Yerevan shortly to sign a friendship and cooperation treaty between Armenia and Georgia.

In Ankara Eduard Shevardnadze met and talked with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. They agreed that the head of the Georgian state will make a friendly visit to Turkey.

Shaposhnikov Advocates Integration of CIS Armed Forces

AU2304135193 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 23 Apr 93 p 18

[Interview with Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "No NATO Country Wants Us"]

[Text] [DIE WOCHE] A time of confusion is again imminent in Russia. Is the Army interfering in the struggle for power between the president and the parliament?

[Shaposhnikov] All sides are attempting to involve the Army in the struggle for power. Defense Minister Grachev warned against it in the Congress of People's Deputies. The situation is dangerous. I am convinced, however, that the Army will remain aloof.

[DIE WOCHE] Can you rule out provocations?

[Shaposhnikov] This danger must certainly not be underestimated. However, this would lead to the Army's disintegration, bloodshed, and civil war. All forces in the Army are aware of this danger.

[DIE WOCHE] If a confrontation were to take place after the referendum, whom will the Army support—the president or the Supreme Soviet?

[Shaposhnikov] Such a question must not be asked. The Army supports the Constitution.

[DIE WOCHE] But it is contradictory in many points!

[Shaposhnikov] In addition to the Constitution, however, there are also other laws and decrees, for example, on the defense of the motherland. They show that the Army must not be used for the solution of domestic policy conflicts.

[DIE WOCHE] If the situation comes to a head in Moscow, it will be asked in the West: Who controls the nuclear button?

[Shaposhnikov] Is this still not known? They are always the same people: President Yeltsin and I, then the presidents of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus.

[DIE WOCHE] Why did you not participate in the negotiations on the START II disarmament treaty?

[Shaposhnikov] I presented my point of view on the future of the nuclear weapons to President Yeltsin as early as the spring of 1992. I do not want to say more about it.

[DIE WOCHE] Ukraine has not yet ratified the START I Treaty.

[Shaposhnikov] Ukraine must finally decide to whom the nuclear missiles belong. If it claims that these are Ukrainian missiles, it must sign the international treaties as a nuclear power. However, Kiev does not want this, either.

[DIE WOCHE] The controversy is obstructing the maintenance of the nuclear warheads; radioactivity has already escaped. Is a new Chernobyl imminent, as the Russian press warns?

[Shaposhnikov] One should not exaggerate this danger. However, these problems must not be denied, either. We made several good agreements with President Kravchuk: Accordingly, joint commissions are to supervise maintenance. Why have they not been implemented?

[DIE WOCHE] You want joint military structures in the CIS. The five Asiatic republics and Armenia have already agreed to this. Can concrete steps be expected in the near future?

[Shaposhnikov] There are voices calling for Russia's entry into NATO, but I tell you: No NATO country wants to have us in the alliance. If we do not want ethnic conflicts in the future, we will have to advance integration. If we do not succeed, Russia is in danger of becoming a black hole.

[DIE WOCHE] What are the joint military structures to be like?

[Shaposhnikov] We need a structure that is similar to NATO. Political and military tasks must be separate. Presentlyl am a soldier and politician at the same time. In the future we need a civilian secretary general, like Manfred Woerner in NATO, and a commander in chief of the military staff.

[DIE WOCHE] The reputation of the armed forces in the Russian population is dwindling, the social security of the army members is deteriorating. Can you therefore envisage a radicalization of the Army?

[Shaposhnikov] The situation is indeed very difficult. We are no longer able to accommodate the soldiers that are withdrawn from the Baltics. Therefore, we stopped the withdrawal for the time being. Moreover, emotions are whipped up by nationalists in the Baltics. There are calls for international observers, also from NATO, who are to supervise the withdrawal. All this makes the situation even more complicated.

[DIE WOCHE] The conversion of the military industry to civilian production results in difficulties. How do you want to advance conversion?

[Shaposhnikov] We must not take precipitate steps. We produce many excellent weapons systems; we can sell them.

ITAR-TASS Reviews 23 Apr Press

LD2304055293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0518 GMT 23 Apr 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 23—Newspapers continue to highlight today the forthcoming April 25 referendum. They

carry many materials dealing with the referendum, comment on the political make-up in the country and make forecasts over the possible results of the voting. The government newspaper ROSSIISKIYE VESTI frontpages the resolution of the Russian Constitutional Court on examining the compliance with the Constitution of the resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies "on the all-Russian Referendum of April 25, 1993, the procedure of vote-counting and the mechanism of putting into effect the results of the referendum." NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA believes that the resolution of the Constitutional Court, under which the results of the voting on the first two questions should be calculated, taking as the basic figure the number of voters who took part in the referendum, became a kind of a "life-buoy" for President Yeltsin. It points out that now the president has received from the Constitutional Court not only the "life-buoy", but also "logs to make a raft for himself".

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, some 70 million Russian citizens are going to take part in the referendum. The newspaper came to that conclusion after "a selective telephone conference on the forthcoming referendum, held by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko". Leaders of the republics, integrated in the Russian Federation, heads of local administrations of territories and regions, representatives of the president and heads of local councils (soviets) took part in the conference.

PRAVDA carries a large article entitled "Game Planned Beforehand", which deals with what it describes as "a propaganda race before the referendum". The newspaper stresses that a large- scale propaganda campaign, launched by the president's team, "is bringing more points to the president ... By the level of the propaganda skill and the talent in organising scenes of 'the expression of popular support' the current campaign outdid those held during the unforgettable Brezhnev-Chernenko times".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries articles by two well-known political scientists, Andrey Nuikin and Alexandr Tsipko, which deal with the forthcoming referendum. In the opinion of Tsipko, "the referendum will mean the disintegration of Russia". "The tragic aspect of the situation is that whatever the results of the referendum, it will become a factor of Russia's disintegration. If, for instance, they manage to dupe people, and they vote for Yeltsin, this will give him a carte blanche and he will start getting rid of his opponents. These include not only the parliament, but also many of Russia's regions, whole social groups. How can this be achieved without violence?" Nuikin, however, believes that the only acceptable way of development in the current situation is possible today only in case the 'Yeltsin line' wins. This will mean "a long and difficult movement towards a normal market, democracy, civilisation and integration in the world economic system, the political and cultural community."

"We shall not permit to draw the army into political confrontation," chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Defence and Security Sergey Stepashin said in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. In his opinion, "the committee has assumed a centrist stand" in the present confrontation of the legislative and executive branches of authority. According to Stepashin, the committee is working out the main provisions of the military doctrine. "Most probably, it will be a doctrine determining what is necessary for protecting the country's independence," he said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Colonel Oleg Fedyaev, a senior official from the Russian Defence Ministry, which deals with the problem of making the Russian Army professional. The procedure of recruiting professionals to the Army has been set already. Army units have already been given instructions on the procedure of signing contracts with citizens joining the Russian Armed Forces.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 0736 GMT on 23 April adds: "'The impression is that the forthcoming referendum is evoking feelings close to apocalyptic ones both among the opposition and the authorities,' VEK, the newspaper of business circles, writes. 'It is clear already that the intensification of the political struggle in the country promotes various changes in the minds of the leading Russian politicians.'

["VEK calls attention to Boris Yeltsin's analytical article about ways of Russia's development, issued by the president this week, and describes his conception as 'the changing of landmarks and a new course.'

["VEK carries an article by Konstantin Mikhailov, entitled 'Notes about Yeltsin—Reformer, President, Individual'. Writing about who could be in opposition to the president in the future, VEK points out that it is the Civic Union, which could become 'opposition in all earnestness'. However, the political credo of the Civic Union is unclear and uncertain. At present it is a kind of a lobbying organisation. The public knows next to nothing about representatives of the so-called 'third force', the newspaper writes."]

Kozyrev: Situation in Bosnia Has Reached 'Red Line'

LD2304091593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0850 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—The crisis in former Yugoslavia has reached its peak and new principled decisions are necessary for the progress of a peaceful settlement.

"The reserve of manoeuvering and compromises has reached 'a red line'. It looks as if the stage of talks and persuasion has ended. Russia is on the verge of adopting complicated decisions", according to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The minister said that he can see no "convincing decisions" among the proposals advanced by the parties. The lifting of embargo on arms deliveries to Bosnia, the introduction of sanctions, air strikes, etc., will mean "a completely new level of escalation of the conflict" which will result in new armed clashes, he told reporters late on Wednesday [21 April] on his way back to Moscow from Arkhangelsk.

Russian interests in the region include a balanced policy and a "refusal to look for friends". "Our friend in the region is anyone who occupies the maximum reasonable stand to embark on the path of peace", Kozyrev said.

If the conflict spirals up Russia will inevitably get involved in the contraposition. "Our policy is to work with the Serbs providing for them a somewhat larger space than the world community does in order to make them adopt the necessary decision", according to the minister.

Russia has disagreed with the world community on the time of voting on sanctions, but on the other hand, "Serbs listened to us and did not enter Srebrenica". This is a policy of reconciliation and "we have come to a certain limit here which demands new actions", Kozyrev said.

He recalled his proposal to convene a Security Council meeting in the combat zone, in Sarajevo or Srebrenica. The proposal aims to look for yet another political solution, the minister explained.

Kozyrev does not believe that a Russian veto on the UN resolution would have changed the situation. A special session could have been convened the next day and, taken into the account the mood of the majority, the Russian delegation would have become more isolated.

All Russian efforts are currently aimed to make the Bosnian Serbs adopt the Vance-Owen plan with minimal changes, Kozyrev said, but regretted that military successes of the Serbs make the issue of territorial gains more important for them than a general solution of the crisis.

Kozyrev said it would be a mistake to believe that Muslim countries initiated the recent vote on new sanctions in the Security Council. Most pressure came from non-permanent members such as Venezuela, Hungary and others.

Russia and the United States agreed during the summit in Vancouver to postpone the vote on the resolution for two weeks to give time to the Serbs to arrive to a decision. However, the "weight" of Russia and the United States was not sufficient. Russia then abstained from vote, the minister said.

Ambartsumov Expects Veto of Yugoslav Military Action

LD2304135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1244 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr—Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, has rejected the possibility of Russian troops participating in possible military action in Yugoslavia. He called for a well-considered approach in settling the crisis in that country.

At a news conference today on the results of a Russian parliamentary delegation's tour of various Yugoslav republics, he stressed that all sides are to blame for the existing crisis and ethnic cleansings. "One should not lay the main blame only on the Serbs," the parliamentarian noted. Moreover, Ambartsumov said, the leadership of the UN troops in these republics considers that the present UN approach and resolutions are rather one-sided.

Ambartsumov noted: It is presently vital to declare a moratorium on putting into operation from 26 April a UN resolution on sanctions against Serbia. An end to the war can be achieved, the head of the parliamentary committee believes, only if military actions are halted. First of all "it is necessary to halt the war against the towns" and to begin long and patient talks on a peace settlement. During the conversations which took place, all the conflicting sides expressed hope in Russia's mediatory services. He stressed that "at the present time Russia's role has grown considerably."

Replying to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question about Russian forces' participation in possible military action in Yugoslavia, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov said: "I think that Russia will use its veto if the question of military action in Yugoslavia is raised in the UN."

Churkin Discusses Bosnia With EC Representatives

LD2204204593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, special representative of the Russian president and deputy foreign minister, held

consultations with the directors of the foreign ministerial political departments of Denmark, Great Britain, and Belgium. There was discussion of the prospects for settling the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also some aspects of relations between the European Community and Russia.

Help Reportedly Sought in Achieving Armenian Pullout

NC2204202993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] At the instructions of the Azerbaijani president, Azerbaijani Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov has delivered an official note to Russian President Yeltsin requesting that he use his prestige and influence to bring about the quickest possible withdrawal of the Armenian Armed Forces from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon.

During its brief meeting with the Russian president, the Azerbaijani side has appealed to Moscow to reconsider its official position on the occupation of Azerbaijani cities by Armenian forces.

Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Press Service head Isazade has declared that a partisan war has begun in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon. According to some reports, the partisans number a few thousand. In commenting on the situation at the front, he alleged that special-purpose Russian Army units are taking part in the battles on the side of the Armenians. He also said the enemy allegedly has used modern aircraft during the occupation of Kelbadzharskiy. He said this despite the fact that Armenia has declared on many occasions that its Air Force only possesses helicopters.

Isazade also said that despite the difficult situation in Fizulinskiy Rayon, the population of Kubatlinskiy Rayon, which might find itself surrounded if Fizuli is occupied, is not willing to leave and is getting ready to (?defend itself).

Revised Trade Arrangements With Azerbaijan Outlined

PM2304083793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Arif Useynov report under the "Our Correspondents Report" rubric: "Common Sense a Great Help to Trade"]

[Text] Baku—Following the introduction of new customs rules and a review of agreements reached at an earlier stage, Azerbaijani-Russian trade and economic relations have not been through the best of times. Some people in Baku reproach their northern neighbor for displaying a certain arrogance, even though in fact the new procedures merely set a civilized tone for dialogue between two independent entities.

Experts believe that the new agreements have enabled trade and economic cooperation to assume a normal international status. All deals, contracts, and trade turnover are henceforth regulated by the norms of international law. The desire to get a bit more but give away less has fallen away.

The list of goods coming from Russia which will not be taxed with customs duties has been significantly extended. The hitherto traditional basis for trade has been replaced by a clearing basis—the volume of goods coming from Russia has been estimated to be worth $500 million.

The two sides have also reached agreement on the important issue of customs duties and quotas. The planned 65-percent tax would inevitably have curtailed trade between the two states. When this method was used before with East European countries, it did not live up to expectations. So the Russian Cabinet of Ministers freed export-import operations for state deliveries between the two countries.

This will enable Azerbaijan to save 87 billion rubles [R], and overall the republic will be exempted from paying R180 billion. The package of documents adopted also stipulates other mutual and unilateral concessions simplifying formalities and payments for trade turnover.

With time, observers believe, the procedures and rules that have been established will change—in the new conditions of economic cooperation it is important to switch from an unruly market to a civilized one. Nobody is prevented from trading, but only on condition that the rules of the game are observed. Judging by the reaction in Baku, common sense has won the day.

Tajik Prime Minister Meets Kozyrev, Barannikov

LD2204213993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] On a working visit to Moscow Abdumalik Abdullojonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Tajikistan, met with the foreign affairs and security ministers of Russia Andrey Kozyrev and Viktor Barannikov. During these meetings, issues related to the strengthening of cooperation between the two independent states were discussed.

Problems of Peacekeeping Troops Assessed

MK2204103893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 2

[Report by Vadim Solovyev, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA military correspondent: "Peacekeeping Forces: Are They Content With Their Situation? Servicemen Do Not Want To Be Pawns in Political Intrigues"]

[Text]The 18,000 Russian servicemen who perform peacekeeping functions are puzzled. The Russian leadership has thrown them first into one hot spot, then another, in order urgently to extinguish the latest conflict on the territory of the former Soviet Union, but has so

far failed to create even an elementary legal framework to underpin their activities. (The Law on Defense entrusts only one function to the Armed Forces—that of repelling outside aggression.) Furthermore, it is not only the legal framework that is lacking; what is plainly evident is a total lack of interest on the part of the authorities in whose national interests the peacekeeping forces are used. All this makes it possible to define the role of the peacekeeping forces as one thinks fit—from envoys of peace and tranquillity to police and gendarme units.

As yet there are only declarations hammered out at the level of CIS heads of state: Three protocols and one document from the Tashkent meeting "On the Creation and Formation of Collective Forces To Maintain Peace in the CIS." Everything seems to have been agreed, but these collective forces have never materialized. So far it is Russia alone that is bearing the burden of paying their costs. In 1992 alone, the Russian Defense Ministry had to pay 2.2 billion rubles [R] on the main expenditure items—servicemen's allowance, transportation costs, food, and depreciation of equipment (1,400 pieces of armored hardware and 3,000 vehicles). The most "burdensome" regions—Ossetia and Abkhazia—cost over R1 billion a year. However, this is not the worst side to the Russian peacemaking efforts. "However deplorable it may sound," notes Aleksandr Arenakhin, chief of the Defense Ministry's peacekeeping operations, "the Georgian and Ossetian sides, despite the agreements by the joint commission, have not put their men on duty since December 1992."

Moreover, in the area of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, 13 people have already been killed and another 25 wounded. In Abkhazia, six people have been killed and 12 wounded. Despite impressive statements by Russian military chiefs that any attempts to assault the servicemen will be decisively repulsed, it must be conceded that in reality no particular decisiveness is displayed.

In another area of peacekeeping efforts—Tajikistan—we see a somewhat different picture. The maintenance of the 201st Division, which by chance assumed a peacekeeping role, cost R713 million last year. It has established fairly good relations with the local authorities. But again, no one is willing to perform the functions of peacekeeper apart from Russia. A battalion from Kyrgyzstan was brought in recently for the same purpose, but in a week it packed up and was gone—the republic's parliament allegedly does not allow its troops to be sent outside Kyrgyz borders.

Even in the most hospitable area—the Dniester Region—the peacekeeping forces are treated with disregard; obligations with regard to providing the servicemen with the requisite supplies have not been met, other issues are up in the air, and Russian commanders, again, have to take on all these issues on their own. At the same time, salaries paid there are only R10,000 to R20,000 greater than in peaceful regions in Russia. Furthermore, compensation payments paid in the event of death to the victim's family are made in the ludicrous amount of R100,000, which is scarcely sufficient to pay for the funeral. A contrasting example is the Russian battalion in Yugoslavia: An officer is paid up to $1,000 and a soldier up to $350, which translates into many thousands of rubles. Protected by UN immunity, however, the troops risk much less there.

Offer To Guarantee Crimea Referendum 'Scandalous'

PM2304115193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 2

[B. Glebov report: "Simply Scandalous!"]

[Text] Here is a very "fresh" document. The message is dated 16 April 1993 and signed by Valentin Agafonov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The Russian Supreme Soviet addresses various proposals to the Crimean Supreme Soviet. This is the most scandalous: "Russia could act as an international guarantor for the holding of a referendum in Crimea on questions of state independence...."

Russians are accustomed to considering Crimea a part of Russia, and many Russians live in Crimea, but wishes like the one signed by Comrade Agafonov can only add "fuel to the fire" and provoke radicals in the Ukrainian parliament into anti-Russian countermoves.

Last Stage of Troop Pullout From Lithuania Planned

LD2104190693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 20 Apr 93

Russian troops must be withdrawn from Lithuania by 31 August this year. The issues concerning the technical aspects of the withdrawal of the Russian troops were discussed by the leaders of the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense and Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense, at a meeting in Moscow. Here is Jonas Kernagis reporting.

[Kernagis] On 1 April the third and the last stage of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Lithuania began. By 30 August the 7th Airborne Division with its headquarters in Kaunas and the 3d Coastal Protection Division with its headquarters in Klaipeda will withdraw. The withdrawal of the 242d Russian Assault Landing Training Center in Rukla and Prienai has already started. According to the opinion of military specialists, by the end of this stage, on 30 August, the Air Defense Force will have left the territory of Lithuania. Military enterprises will be handed over to our state. Apart from this, it is expected that units of land forces, rear area units, and air defense units will also be withdrawn. Only 17 weeks remain until the complete withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense, told Vilnius Radio that at present 12,000 Russian servicemen

remain deployed in Lithuania. There are also several large military enterprises in Lithuania. Tens of thousands of Lithuanian citizens are employed at these military enterprises of the former Soviet Union. According to Minister Butkevicius, if these enterprises are liquidated the number of unemployed could double in Lithuania. Here is Minister Audrius Butkevicius:

[Begin Butkevicius recording] We would like these enterprises to continue to exist as such so that there will not be several thousand unemployed in Lithuania. These are enterprises which could work not only to satisfy the needs of Lithuania. These are enterprises in which rather complex operations could be carried out with the help of Western technology. We do not want and there is also no need for it to [words indistinct]. We would like to invest money in this because this would mean having joint enterprises with the Russian military-economic complex.

We managed to solve all these problems positively. I think that Lithuania will have the enterprises, and although these enterprises will be military we will retain the main package of orders and [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Kernagis] Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense, was appointed by the prime minister head of the delegation for negotiations on taking over military enterprises. In addition, the minister of national defense is the chief authorized person on matters of the withdrawal of Russian troops. According to Audrius Butkevicius, the criticism voiced by some politicians that the Ministry of National Defense has taken over the functions of the state negotiation delegation for negotiations with Russia is unfounded.

According to Minister Butkevicius, in addition to internal problems, the speedy withdrawal of Russian troops is the most topical issue. According to the interlocutor, the political situation in Russia is unfortunately not stable even today. Here is Minister Butkevicius again:

[Begin Butkevicius recording] I think that any kind of instability on the territory of the former Soviet Union or Russia is a threat. The internal political instability, lack of democracy, and emergence of antidemocratic tendencies in Russia is a threat to us. One would not want to regard the Russian Communist Party as a democratic force. The rate of the Russian troop withdrawal from Lithuania is the main question which should be solved now. Ignoring the [words indistinct] political arrogance, which at first sight may seem as important and significant in economic terms, the withdrawal of the Russian troops decides everything today: economic pressure, investment [word indistinct], and at the same time economic growth. [end recording]

[Kernagis] Colonel Stasys Knezys yesterday was appointed chief of the general headquarters of the Lithuanian Armed Forces by order of the minister of national defense. He will continue to remain in the post as the government's authorized person for the withdrawal of Russian troops. According to Col. Knezys, the rate of withdrawal of Russian troops has increased. Here is Col. Stasys Knezys:

[Knezys] The speed of the withdrawal of the Russian troops has increased significantly. I know the speed is increasing because I watch it every day. Today I have written down the withdrawal plans for the month of May. The departure of military trains has been coordinated. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

[Kernagis] According to the leaders of the Ministry of National Defense, commanders of the Russian military formations deployed in Lithuania so far are adhering to the interstate timetable. Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has been invited to visit Lithuania during the second half of May.

Kozyrev Continues Talks With Norwegian Counterpart

Nuclear Contamination Discussed

LD2204122293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1118 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Nuclear contamination in the European north was one of the main topics discussed by the Russian and Norwegian foreign ministers on Thursday [22 April].

Andrey Kozyrev and Johan Jorgen Holst agreed it is necessary to continue checking the Barents and Kara Seas for possible radioactive contamination.

Norway had already allocated 40 million krones for the work and decided to earmark additional 20 million krones for the safety of the Russian Kola nuclear power plant situated close to its borders.

Kozyrev assured his Norwegian counterpart that Russia is not going to resume nuclear tests on the Novaya Zemlya archipelago provided other nuclear states observe their commitments as well. Russia stands for a complete ban on nuclear tests, the minister recalled.

Kozyrev and Holst agreed that cooperation in the Barents Sea region is a new and important element of bilateral relations. They discussed territorial delimitation in the Barents Sea, cooperation in fishing, power engineering and ecology.

The ministers signed a protocol on the development of cooperation between the two countries in which they stated that bilateral relations had undergone considerable improvements in 1992. Another protocol confirmed the validity of several documents signed between Russia and Norway yet in the 19th century. They concern, in particular, stabilisation in border areas, the expulsion of vagabonds and taxation.

Kozyrev Comments on Referendum

LD2204121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1141 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Although Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is sure that President Boris Yeltsin will win the coming referendum, he does not rule out a hypothetical possibility of a communist comeback which will result in a new cold war and a Yugoslavian scenario in the Commonwealth.

Appeals to change the Russian foreign policy and, in particular, to restore relations with Libya and Iraq are being voiced by hard-liners in a more tough and demanding form. It is completely clear that a new cold war will emerge if revenge-seeking forces win over in Russia, Kozyrev said on Thursday after meeting his Norwegian counterpart Johan Jorgen Holst.

"The Russian home and foreign policy becomes more stable and irreversible and this causes anger and hatred of nationalists", he added.

A totalitarian comeback in Russia will restore the imperial policy towards former Soviet republics which would undoubtedly oppose such a stand and the possibility of a Yugoslavian scenario will become quite possible in the Commonwealth. Russia may then again become a "closed country" and ideology will dominate its foreign policy, according to Kozyrev.

However, the minister is sure that this will not happen and the people will vote for Yeltsin at the coming referendum. "President Boris Yeltsin will remain the guarantor of irreversibility of transformations", he said.

Holst Urges START II Ratification

LD2204180793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1658 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Visiting Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst called on Russia to ratify the START-2 Treaty which Norway considers to be "an acceptable and stabilising factor".

Holst said at a meeting at the Russian Diplomatic Academy on Thursday that in order to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and put an end to arms race Norway was calling upon states possessing nuclear weapons to sign a treaty completely banning nuclear tests. Norway is a party concerned because it is situated in close proximity to Russia's nuclear test range at Novaya Zemlya.

Holst noted that Norway was making its own contribution to the creation of a new order in Europe in matters of security, which is based on partnership and cooperation. "We support the Vance-Owen plan for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia," he said.

On the same day, the Norwegian foreign minister left for home.

Government Approves German Compensation for Nazi Victims

PM2304085593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Untitled "Official" column report]

[Text] The Russian Federation Government has approved a draft international agreement, submitted by the Russian Foreign Ministry, under which Federal Republic of Germany would put at the disposal of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus, and Ukraine 1 billion marks in compensation to the citizens of the former USSR who suffered most from Nazi persecution.

Cuban Official Pessimistic on Trade Relations

LD2304103693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1013 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana April 23 TASS—During the past few years 75 joint ventures with foreign collaboration have been set up in Cuba, but none of them with the participation of the Russian capital. This state of affairs can be explained by a "lack of imagination," Octavio Castillo, vice-chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, said at a press conference held here on Thursday.

We conducted talks with Russian delegations several times, but due to a number of reasons could not come to an agreement about the forms of entrepreneurship, the Cuban delegate told ITAR-TASS.

Castillo regretted that although there are many industrial enterprises in Cuba which are using Russian equipment, both parties cannot carry out mutual transactions on a clearing basis as they used to, and both countries are short of hard currency. He also noted the need of a non-traditional approach.

The state committee vice-chairman emphasised that he personally is not inclined to be optimistic as regards the future development of bilateral relations between Russia and Cuba. According to him, the economic recession, which Cuba has been experiencing following the collapse of the socialist camp and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, will end in the second half of this year.

Military Delegation in India Discusses MiG-29 Sales

LD2304101493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0919 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] Delhi, 23 Apr—A Russian military delegation on an official visit here and the Indian Armed Forces command have discussed ensuring supplies of spare parts from Russia for the Indian Army's combat equipment and other questions of bilateral military-technical cooperation. The Russian delegation is headed by Colonel General of Aviation P.S. Deynekin, commander in chief of the Air Force of the Russian Federation.

An official spokesman of the Indian Ministry of Defense reported that there was particular discussion at the talks about the possibility of additional purchases of MiG-29 multipurpose fighters and also of setting up an assembly line to produce these combat aircraft at Indian enterprises.

P.S. Deynekin and M. Mallikarjun, Indian minister of state for defense, are to meet today.

UN Vote Extending Libya Sanctions Questioned

PM2304121593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Vadim Iputev article: "New Sanctions Against Libya: Look Before You Leap..."]

[Excerpts] The sanctions against Libya introduced by the United Nations a year ago ran out yesterday, 15 April. As is well known, they included a ban on flights to the Arab country and on supplies of military equipment and spares. [passage omitted]

But what about Russia? By joining the sanctions against Tripoli, it seems to have lost more than it has gained.

Trade and economic ties between Russia and Libya are now nonexistent, although quite recently these contacts gave the ex-USSR more than $17 billion in 15 years. When Moscow withdrew from that Arab country, the resulting vacuum was immediately filled by firms from West Europe, South Korea, and Taiwan. Yet even now, remembering our hard-working specialists, the Libyans are prepared to invite Russia to take part in multibillion contracts to build railroads, highways, oil refineries, machine-building plants, and housing. They are also interested in shipbuilding, aircraft supplies, and geological exploration.

Libya in turn could pay with top-grade oil. It takes tankers a mere three days to reach Novorossiysk from Benghazi. These supplies would help to ease Russia's current difficulties with fuel during sowing, for example. Libyan citrus fruits and other foodstuffs are extremely cheap, incidentally....

Of course, the "ideological" past of relations between the former Soviet Union and Libya was a heavy weight on Russia's shoulders. It simply had to shed this weight. But it should not have instantly made a 180-degree turn in the trade and economic sphere in order to achieve this. And it certainly should not have "cast a slur" on life in Libya. Things are not quite as bad there as some radicals claim. For example, the country has carried out a land reform under which every family wishing to obtain land has been allocated three hectares or more of irrigated land. An imposing project called "River of Life" is now under way, which consists in pumping fresh water to the country's arid regions through pipelines. Many people living in hovels have been resettled in modern houses supplied free of charge. All political prisoners have been released, and freedom to leave the country is guaranteed. Women have been given the right to vote. Small and medium businesses based on collective contract are now encouraged.

Of course Libya has not escaped—nor could it escape—a bitter "cup" of problems. There is rampant bureaucracy and corruption, for example. The economy is poorly run. But that is, as they say, the internal affair of the Libyans themselves.

It would not have hurt us to look into relations with the country. For the moment, however, Moscow has again recklessly voted for new sanctions as a member of the Security Council. So Russia will be the loser again. Repayment of Libya's debt to us of $3.4 billion has evidently been frozen indefinitely. Our bilateral trade will not develop. On the other hand, Western companies certainly will not leave Libya—even in the event of a UN ban on "making money" on Libyan territory. They will simply give their representative bodies a new "identity" as necessary.

So, before voting in the United Nations on sanctions against Libya, would it not have been better to discuss this matter in the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations and Foreign Economic Ties and adopt a considered decision? After all, under our Constitution the legislature has the right to determine strategic priorities in Russian foreign policy.

Fedorov Comments on Provisions of Aid Package

PM2204141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Mikhail Berger report under the general heading: "West Is Helping Not Just Russia, But Russian Reforms"]

[Text] Moscow—One of the most popular figures of the last few days has been that of $43 billion. As you know, that is the estimated sum of the new Western aid program for Russian reforms. But Vice Premier Boris Fedorov warns that these billions come in different forms and it is pointless to mechanically add them together.

Rescheduled debts amount to $15 billion of the $43 billion. It is at the very least inaccurate to lump together money that we will actually be given with money that we owe but will

not be paying. Nor should we mechanically add on the $10 billion in bilateral export credits and guarantees for Western countries. Strictly speaking, it is only by employing a great deal of latitude that this can be considered aid for reforms. In practice it is more a question of helping Western firms sell us their commodities, which is no bad thing and is even essential, but will not directly affect the development of market structures in Russia.

The IMF has confirmed its intention of allocating $6 billion to stabilize the ruble. That is quite close to being what you could call money for reform, but the Russian side is in no hurry to take this money, displaying sensible circumspection until the problems of the ruble area and a number of other difficult problems have been settled. So for the time being, these billions are not in place either.

But there is nonetheless what can be called "real money," receipt of which will directly affect the course of market reforms in the near future. Receipt of this money depends on a number of conditions that can be summed up in a single phrase: The money is for reform. No reform, no money.

Fedorov considers the appearance of fresh proposals and terms for aid provision agreed in Tokyo a unique event in itself. The IMF has set up a special $3-billion credit program to maintain the systemic transformations of the Russian economy without lengthy prior study, a process that can sometimes run into years. This marks a fundamentally new decision by the IMF to grant real money on the basis of a fairly mild set of macroeconomic pledges by the Russian side, pledges that are to be set out in a corresponding letter from the government and the Central Bank.

Last year Russia received the first billion dollars in so-called reserve credit from the IMF, the standard level of which is $4 billion.

The World Bank is giving Russia $1.1 billion as rehabilitation credit for critically essential imports. Some $600 million of this money is already in place, the remaining $0.5 billion may be received within a relatively short timeframe.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is starting to create a $300-million support fund for small and medium business in Russia.

Overall we are receiving something in the region of $7.2 billion in real money that does not entail a commitment to buy anything. Fedorov stressed that these are long-term loans, which we have been granted on very good terms, and it is this money that should primarily be considered as direct aid for Russian reforms.

There is also the as-yet informal proposal from the United States (a proposal that has already been discussed by the G-7 in Tokyo) to create a $4-billion fund for privatization and structural reorganization. The question of this fund is expected to be agreed by July.

So there is money—and plenty of it—to support reforms in Russia provided that they continue. But even if we comply with the terms governing the provision of aid, Boris Fedorov stressed that the amount of this aid is very different from just adding up all the figures cited in Tokyo.

IMF Chief Outlines Terms of Aid Program

PM2304115993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report under the general heading: "West Is Helping Not Just Russia, But Russian Reforms"]

[Text] "There are no free lunches"—IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus gave that reminder Tuesday [20 April] when announcing the new aid program formulated by his organization for the countries of the former Union, promising as far as Russia specifically is concerned in the region of $3 billion over the next 18 months.

Unlike the Fund's traditional loans and credits, the money to be allocated under the new program is linked to less strict conditions. But there are conditions, the key one being the adoption of "convincing measures designed to stabilize the monetary situation." To be specific, as could be seen from Camdessus' statements and from conversations with other high-ranking Fund representatives, it is a question of measures to make it possible to curb the "flight of capital" and drastically beat down the rate of inflation.

The new program—as IZVESTIYA has already reported—constitutes a unique alternative to the Fund's traditional means of financing various countries' economies. An alternative was needed because, as is supremely clear, virtually none of the countries of the former Union would have met the conditions for traditional funding. There are exceptions: Camdessus particularly singled out the Baltics, where "pleasing" progress has been made with the transition to the market.

I was told by leading IMF personnel that Russia can count on gaining access to alternative credits and loans over the next few months. But only after the Fund is satisfied with our government's economic and financial program. As far as I see it, there is currently an active process under way of clarifying and coordinating various aspects of the program submitted to the IMF and the World Bank by Boris Fedorov, who has kept his post as a bank director.

Camdessus called Fedorov's program "ambitious but realistic."

The Fund's managing director confirmed the assessments that he made last year: Over the next four or five years the IMF will be prepared to grant the former Union in the region of $25-30 billion.

Last: Whereas the fund is tight-fisted with money, it has no problems about providing us with technical aid. Camdessus said that the former Union will account for

45 percent of the technical aid provided by the fund to ALL [caps as published] countries in 1993.

Japanese Party Views Highlight 'Double Standards'

PM2204124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Agafonov article: "Japan's 'Double Standards' Toward Russia"]

[Text] Tokyo—The upsurge in optimistic expectations regarding the future of Russo-Japanese relations noted last week and brought about by changes in the Japanese stance on economic aid for Russia was carefully suppressed by the leadership of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP] when it organized a seminar for its activists in the spa town of Atami.

Urging the 230-strong gathering to harbor no illusions about Russia, LDP Secretary General Seiroku Kajiyama, for instance, said that he personally feels nothing but mistrust and hatred for Russia (that was how KYODO quoted his statement). In turn Koko Sato, head of the LDP Executive Council, insisted in particular that the Japanese view of Russia's problems differs from the Western view, first, because there is an unresolved territorial question and, second, because the "Japanese do not share the fears over Yeltsin's future." "If Yeltsin loses," Sato said, "I do not think that Russia will go back to socialism or communism..." His speech culminated in the idea that Russia should not be helped until the disputed territories are returned.

Kajiyama and Sato are the No. 2 and No. 3 men within the party leadership after its chairman Kiichi Miyazawa, who combines the post with that of head of the Cabinet. Miyazawa was not in Atami since he is currently visiting the United States. As for Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto, he was present at the party seminar. Muto delivered a 30-minute speech there and, as we know, announced shortly beforehand at the meeting of G-7 ministers that politics were separate from economics in Japan's contacts with Russia. Admittedly he did not mention Yeltsin or the territories, but nor did he made any amendments with regard to the very palpable differences between the government's and the party's approach. The upshot was that Japan's "double standards" on Russian affairs were highlighted extremely clearly, eliciting a host of diplomatic as well as moral questions.

These questions are all the more topical if you consider that, according to current information, K. Muto's trip to Moscow in early May to prepare for B. Yeltsin's visit is already looming near, while it is thought here that the Russian president may visit at the end of May. During A. Kozyrev's recent talks with K. Miyazawa and K. Muto in Tokyo the partners pledged to make this visit a success for both sides. In Moscow the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry announced the formulation of a new policy toward Japan. Finally, the July G-7 summit meeting, to which the Russian president has already been invited and which he will probably attend, lies ahead. How can Japanese "double standards" be applied against that background, and how are we to interpret the differences in the policies espoused by the ruling party and the government?

It would be very interesting to learn the Japanese Cabinet's official viewpoint on this. But it is equally interesting and important for the Russian side not to miss the "Atami emphasis." If we leave aside the actual statements made by these lofty officials and look at the crux of what they said, there can be only one conclusion here—it is still too early to talk about Japanese moves forward in contacts with Russia or of an irrevocable fait accompli. In order to ensure that the May visit is not wrecked like the one last September, we must harbor no illusions—by no means everyone in Japan has a burning desire to forget their problems for the sake of our reforms.

Commentary Urges DPRK Reversal on NPT

SK2304131493 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Commentar by (Aleksey Kondraziyev) from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] The world community is concerned about the situation on the Korean peninsula. Station commentator (Aleksey Kondraziyev) writes:

In February, Pyongyang rejected the International Atomic Energy Agency's [IAEA] special inspection of two military sites [kun taesang] of the DPRK. In March, the DPRK leadership announced its withdrawal from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. This aroused the concern of many countries. In particular, countries in the Asia-Pacific region are greatly concerned about this. This is natural, since it may cause the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

What was most seriously affected by this DPRK attitude, however, is the South-North dialogue, which had been expected to normalize the situation on the Korean peninsula. It also exerted a bad influence upon the plan for denuclearizing the Korean peninsula.

Pyongyang and Seoul have reached many agreements on important issues during the past two or three years. In 1991, they signed the North-South Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchange and Cooperation and declared the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Following this, the United States announced that it would withdraw its tactical weapons [as heard] from the peninsula. There was discussion on the gradual demilitarization of the Korean peninsula.

These important agreements, however, are being threatened today. It is questionable whether peace will come on the Korean peninsula. Pyongyang is demanding suspension of the U.S.-ROK Team Spirit joint annual

military exercise and nuclear inspections of U.S. military sites [kunsa taesang] in the ROK.

The DPRK leadership is exercising its right to stipulate certain terms. The DPRK itself, however, should also [word indistinct]. Pyongyang's decision to withdraw from the NPT seems to be an extreme measure. It is natural that the world community has been persuading Pyongyang to repeal this unprecedented decision.

International efforts to resolve DPRK's nuclear issue seem to have some favorable results. For example, reports say that Washington is willing to hold high-level talks with Pyongyang. Beijing is also activating its diplomacy with the DPRK.

It has been reported that Chinese and ROK foreign ministers will hold a meeting in Bangkok to discuss plans to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone.

Regarding Moscow's position, Russia will try to persuade Pyongyang not to withdraw from the NPT by exercising all its influence. The Russian Foreign Ministry noted that Russia, which shares its borders with the DPRK, should naturally do so.

Volkogonov on Work of Joint POW Commission

LD2204195293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1530 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Interview with Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, chairman of the Joint Russian-U.S. Commission on POWS and MIAs in Korea and Vietnam, by unidentified announcer; Volkogonov speaks in Russian fading to English report—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The co-chairman of the Russian-U.S. Commission on POW's and MIA's in Korea and Vietnam, Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, outstanding Russian historian, has returned from his tour of the United States. [passage omitted]

[Volkogonov] The time has passed of mutual accusations he says; it's time for repentance now. Today there is intensive searching for the remnants of Soviet pilots shot down in those years. The search is difficult due to the atmosphere of secrecy of those times; records were (?laconic) and no names of the killed were mentioned.

[Announcer] Radio Moscow often receives letters asking to say what the commission has done to clear up the fates of American citizens who found themselves, at different times, on the territory of the Soviet Union.

[Volkogonov] Over the year we were able to clear up the fates of 22,000 Americans who found themselves on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Among them is a large group of former Americans mainly of Slavic descent who while in the Soviet Union were taken repressive actions against by the Stalinist regime and spent many years in concentration camps. Now those who remained alive feel themselves like native Russians, have been married and do not want to return to the United States. I know one American woman, a former diplomat, says Dmitriy Volkogonov, who has relatives in the United States and goes to see them from time to time, but she always says that her family is in Russia where she has lived many years and she will go nowhere. Our commission, says Dmitriy, works in the atmosphere of mutual understanding. I would like to address the listeners who know something about American POW's and MIA's and ask them to send letters to us. Our address—Joint Russian-American Commission for POW and MIA, 10, (Ilyinka) Street, Moscow, Russia, or you may send your letters to Radio Moscow.

Foreign Access to 'Top Secret' Archives Questioned

PM2304080393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 5

[S. Turchenko report: "Secrets from Our Archives Are Drifting Across the Ocean—And a Few Things Remain..."; all names as translitered]

[Excerpt] Foreign specialists on Russia, mainly Americans, have swarmed to the Center for Storing Contemporary Documentation (TsKhSD) like flies to the honey. No proof has been found that they are all linked with the CIA or any other secret services of foreign states. But here are just a few names and known addresses. Thomas Wolf was sent from Michigan University in the United States to "clean out" our archives (according to the official story). Mark Doktoroff Khoyart, staffer of the U.S. Harriman Institute, has a letter of recommendation to the board of the United States and Canada Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Valeri Gegiyan was sent by Columbia University. Elizabeth Valkenir was sent by the Harriman Institute. Jerri Jendlin was sent by Taft University in the United States. Katrin Vedrsbiy was sent by Florida State University. Metyu Evangelista—by Michigan University... The list is endless. I am sure that there are in fact many scientists on it. But there are even fewer doubts that their research will become first and foremost the property of the CIA and other organizations actively reckoning up the chances of the definitive destruction of the Russian state, and the very gene of the Russian soul in our people. The information to which the foreigners have gained wide access is global from the point of view of the organization of the state, the economy, and material and human resources. I will list just a few documents from the thousands upon thousands of others offered to the Americans to study, photocopy, microfilm, and export across the ocean.

A general outline of the deployment of the USSR's industrial forces for the period up to the year 2000, accompanied by a 460-page report by various institutes and departments. It is stamped "top secret." Materials on developing the aviation industry up to the year 2000. The stamp—"top secret." Material on the prospects for improving our military hardware, including the T-80B tank. The stamp—"top secret." A statute on the agent network of the state security organs. The stamp—"top

secret." Materials concerning questions of secrecy when sending staffers from our intelligence agencies abroad. The stamp—"top secret." To this list must be added equally confidential documents disclosing the mechanism, priorities, and sticking points in our foreign policy of the distant and recent past, and data on the condition and prospects for developing the economy of various regions of our country, and much more.

The reader, no doubt, has already quite justifiably exclaimed indignantly: What right do the Americans have to conduct research into secret materials in our archives? Which traitor of Russia's interests opened the door to them? I had occasion to put similar questions to Vitaliy Yurevich Afiyani, deputy director of the TsKhSD. He responded with some reluctance. But the following was ultimately ascertained.

As the Russian Federation Law on Archives has not been adopted to this day, the TsKhSD leadership is forced to organize its work on the basis of the provisional clauses on the procedure for accessing the archives approved by the Russian Federation Government Committee for Archive Matters, which is headed by famous U.S. patriot Rudolf Germanovich Pikhoya. The statute in question opened the doors for foreigners into the TsKhSD as well as other archives, incidentally. Admittedly, with one restriction—a 30-year restriction on secret and top secret material.

As for the documents listed above, and many other contemporary secrets, the matter of access to them by foreigners is in the hands of a special commission formed on the instructions of the president himself. This commission was set up by people like Poltoranin, Volkogonov, Pikhoya... In blatant compliance with the so-called Hoover Plan, born to all appearances in the depths of the CIA, these reformers have exposed in one fell swoop numerous secret materials, having allocated them to a special fund—No. 89—which is pretentiously called the "Collection of Declassified Documents." A portion of them is listed above. [passage omitted]

Clinton Seen as 'Intelligent, Reliable Partner'

PM2204154593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 7

["Psychoanalytical Study" by Doctor of Psychological Sciences M. Reshetnikov, director of St. Petersburg Institute of Psychoanalysis, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Our Partner Bill Clinton"]

[Excerpts] The list of psychological requirements for the personality of a future president of the United States is fairly short. First and foremost they are a capacity for sympathy, prudence, and confidence. This list also includes the ability to listen and, by relying on public opinion, to pursue a sensible policy which will enjoy the support and confidence of the voters and consequently be translated into real life. During the election campaign, all the candidates usually try to demonstrate precisely these qualities which are combined in the notion of the "empathic leader." In the broadest sense, this notion also includes qualities such as the ability to understand and share the feelings of other people and also to forecast their emotional reactions depending on how far a particular action by the authorities affects their personal problems and interests and all the issues of their human existence. It is acknowledged that these qualities, augmented by a definite general and political ethos, also enable the president to secure support and cooperation from his personal friends, then from officials in his administration and all the taxpayers, thereby securing personal popularity, which is something an effective leader always needs.

The capacity for understanding other people's feelings and experiences not only presupposes a knowledge of the diversity of life's situations, but also that one has one's own emotional experience, including negative experiences.

During the last election campaign in the United States, particular emphasis was laid on the fact that "out of all possible aims, an intelligent leader always chooses the most important and significant ones from the social point of view," relying on his knowledge, intuition, and common sense. At the present time these aims in the United States are linked with problems of international ties, economics, and business, and also with the problem of environmental pollution. Let us note immediately that this list does not include politics (in the way we understand the term), which is typical of a civil society with a developed democratic system of government based not on political preferences but on social pragmatism.

The use of the president's influence for his own gain or patronage for his friends is incompatible with leadership. A leader of all the people should also possess qualities such as personal courage, consistency, and self-confidence, since this stance encourages the emergence of similar qualities in his team. In this sense a nationwide election presupposes nationwide accountability in all his actions while at the same time imposing on the president the kind of special personal responsibility to which nobody else can lay claim. [passage omitted]

In analytical studies of this kind it is always customary to note the weak points of a specific personality and particularly those of a specific political figure. The things that hinder or could hinder Bill Clinton in realizing his leadership capabilities based on the story of his life and the emotional stereotypes of early childhood are most likely to be linked to his excessive tendency to seek conciliation and avoid direct confrontation, which is sometimes politically expedient or advantageous in certain situations.

But in any case, everything Bill Clinton has done or is doing shows that we are dealing with an undoubtedly intelligent, consistent, and reliable partner who can be trusted. In the context of what has been said, many people are probably interested to know what Bill Clinton's position is with regard to the 25 April referendum. This position was expressed fairly frankly in a

speech by the U.S. President at a meeting with newspaper editors on the eve of the talks in Vancouver: "President Yeltsin and the reformers fighting alongside him all over Russia are courageously heading three Russian revolutions—they are turning their country from a totalitarian state into a democratic one, a command economy into a market one, and an empire into a modern national state. ...We should help them (the Russians—M. Reshetnikov) realize that their current difficulties and privations are not the birth pains of democracy and capitalism, but the death agony of dictatorship and communism... At the present time the supporters of reforms in the Russian Federation and other republics are leading their peoples toward the horizons of democracy; our strategy should be that of assistance; we must stand by them."

Japanese News Agency Interviews 'Space Force' Chief

OW2304035693 Tokyo KYODO in English 0338 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, April 23 KYODO—Russian defense authorities continue to maintain a "space force" even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War tensions, according to the commander of the formerly secret military department.

Gen. Vladimir Ivanov told KYODO NEWS SERVICE recently the "space force" emerged as an independent entity within the Russian Defense Ministry after being a secret part of the now defunct Soviet Union's Strategic Rocket Force (SRF).

The old SRF was responsible for putting Soviet satellites into orbit, reconnaissance by satellites, and intercepting any attack by intercontinental ballistic missiles.

With the break-up of the Soviet Union, however, the Russian military has been renamed and the "space force" elevated to a level in the Defense Ministry on a par with the Russian ground, naval, and air forces.

It has been an open secret among Western military sources that the old Soviet military, like the U.S., had a corps in charge of its own Star Wars strategy, but this is the first time a Russian authority has confirmed its existence.

According to Ivanov, near the end of the 1950s when the Soviet Union succeeding in developing its rockets and missiles, the predecessor of the "space force" was established as part of the SRF.

It continued its activities in secret and became the independent "space corps" in 1982.

Last year, the "space force" was placed on a level with the other forces of the Defense Ministry, and was renamed in January this year.

According to the commander, the headquarters of the "space force" is at Plesetsk, a military base some 800 kilometers north of Moscow, with the bulk of the forces deployed there and at the once secret base at Baykonur in Kazakhstan.

Ivanov did not say whether Russia is developing technology in response to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), under which satellites are being developed that can shoot down missiles after they have been launched.

The space force continues to manage not only Russia's military satellites, but also the Mir space station, and also monitors the satellites of other nations.

Ivanov called for cooperation in the development of manned space flights, adding that this could play a major role in promoting international peace.

Political Issues

'Kremlin Source': Yeltsin Will Abolish Vice Presidency

LD2304140193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] It is thought that, after the referendum, Boris Yeltsin will issue a package of decrees aimed at carrying out a radical legislative reform. The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY has been informed by a Kremlin source who wished to remain unknown that the decrees provide for suspension of the validity of a number of legislative enactments and the activities of the Constitutional Court, abolition of the post of vice president, and the convening of a constitutional or constituent assembly.

I repeat that that was a report from the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, citing a Kremlin source who wished to remain anonymous.

Yeltsin Working on Presidential Rule in Constitution

LD2204164093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin confirmed on Thursday [22 April] that he is working on a constitution which envisages a presidential rule.

"But the constitution should be adopted properly", he told reporters upon arrival in Moscow from a trip to Izhevsk.

Yeltsin thus denied rumours that a presidential rule may be introduced on April 26 after a nationwide referendum.

Yeltsin Foreword Prefaces Draft Constitution

LD2304081593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0330 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of Russian Federation Deputy Premier Sergey Shakhray has put at the disposal of ITAR-TASS short exerpts from the draft of the new Constitution of the Russian Federation. It has been informed that the full text of the Constitution will be distributed in the near future to the heads of republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics, and to the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. After that the draft will be published.

The press service gives a foreword by the Russian Federation president in which he characterizes the draft as a result of laborious work on combining the best of what was submitted in the drafts of the Constitutional Commission, the Russian Federation president, and of numerous intiative working groups. On the one hand this is a result of prolonged collective work, and on the other hand the result of the principled stance taken by the president, Boris Yeltsin underlined.

He considers that it is important to have the main provisions of the draft published on the eve of the all-Russian referendum since, according to him, "a vote of confidence in the president is not just a vote for an abstract bright future but for concrete legal guarantees, civil rights and for the value of an individual bearing the lofty title of citizen of the Russian Federation". While presenting the draft of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the president proposes his own concept of the future development of our federative state, his own vision of the future of multinational Russia, his own view of a civilised, full-blooded and free fate of every Russian citizen. He considers that all the peoples and ethnic groups of the Russian Federation, all its political and public forces and every specific individual who has connected his or her fate with the fate of the Russian state should participate in this work.

This is why, the president says, I am appealing to you, dear compatriots, and I hope to find understanding and help from your side in this difficult statewide cause, which is so important for all of us.

The basis of the draft of the Constitution of the Russian Federation proposed by the president consists of seven unshakeable principles which "henceforth nobody and no official, no matter what kind of high power they have, will have the right" to encroach upon.

Here are the main principles of the new Constitution of Russia.

The Constitution of Russia is a constitution of the rights and freedoms of the individual. Recognizing the unshakeable value and uniqueness of the life of every individual, on the basis of the best historical traditions of Russian statehood and on the achievements of world civilization, the Constitution of the Russian Federation ensures the high dignity, rights, and freedoms of the individual which are protected by the law and an independent court.

The Russian Constitution, the document goes on to say, is the constitution of a full-blooded federative state. The Basic Law ensures full constitutional rights of the subjects of the Russian Federation. The Constitution guarantees every nation and small ethnic group the unhindered practice of its national sovereignty, ethnic and cultural originality and its development in accordance with their historical traditions.

The state guarantees to all the peoples of the Russian Federation the right to maintain their mother tongue and to create conditions of learning and developing it.

The Constitution guarantees the subjects of the Federation a proper place in a federative state, full representation in the federal administration and as regards the solution of all- Russia questions. Each member of the Federation elects its own deputies to one of the chambers of parliament - the Soviet of the Federation. In accordance with the Constitution, the system of state power is established within the subjects of the federation on the

basis of the provisions on democracy, on the republican form of rule, and on the division of powers and on the basis of other provisions on a democratic, law-governed, secular state. And, finally, the main thing is that the federative treaty is an integral part of the Russian Constitution.

The Constitution of Russia is the constitution of a presidential democratic republic. In the draft constitution, the president of the Russian Federation, elected by universal suffrage, is acknowledged to be the head of state. He is the main guarantor of the indivisibility and integrity of the state, the unity of the state power of the Russian Federation, and the exercise of human and civil constitutional rights.

At the same time, the Constitution strictly defines the limits of presidential power. Guarantees that it will be applied within the framework of the Constitution and law are envisaged. If the president is accused of state treason, or of deliberate violation of the Constitution that damages the state or harms the rights and freedom of the individual, he can be removed from power by the procedure set in the Constitution. The president is the guarantor of effective power, responsible for the efficiency and smooth-running of the work of the executive system, and for discipline and order within the state apparatus entrusted to him.

In the Russian Federation executive power is carried out by the government of the Russian Federation, which is made up of the chairman of the government and federal ministers. The Russian Constitution is a constitution based on strong legislative power. The existence of presidential power in no way denies the functioning of consistent parlamentarism and the principle of division of power, but on the contrary provides for these.

The Constitution guarantees the high status of the representative bodies - the two-chamber Federal Assembly (parliament) and the municipal bodies. Representatives of entities within the Russian Federation are elected to one of the chambers, the Council of the Federation, while the other, the State Duma, consists of deputies elected from territorial constituencies on the basis of uniform standards of representation. Legislation is the exclusive right of the Federal assembly. Excerpts of new Russian Federation Constitution.

The Constitution of Russia is the constitution of a form of justice that is independent and enjoys full rights. By recognizing the unshakeability of the law, the Constitution ensures the independence of the courts - constitutional, civil, and arbitration. It guarantees all the necessary conditions and opportunities for the exercise by them of real and effective justice accessible to every citizen. The legal system of the Russian Federation upholds the rights and freedoms of the individual, and safeguards him from arbitrary rule by the state, by officials, and by political or other organizations.

The Constitution of Russia is the basis of local self-administration. The conduct of an agreed federal policy is supplemented and reinforced by the principle of ensuring free regional development: local self-administration is the exclusive right of municipal organs. Municipal self-administration operates beyond the confines of state power and autonomously of it. This provides an opportunity for the normal social and economic development of all the parts and regions of Russia, which differ markedly from one another as regards their economic, geographical and historical conditions.

The constitution submitted by the president is a stable constitution that excludes the possibility of its being altered arbitrarily. Machinery has been devised within it that ensures the solution of constitutional conflicts.

Finally, the new Constitution of Russia is a constitution of civic patriotism. Patriotism is understood in it to be not just the need to protect the economic and foreign-policy interests of Russia, and the need to defend it when there is a threat of external aggression, but also the preservation of peace and stability within the Russian Federation itself.

'Brief Excerpts' of Constitution

LD2304090993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0845 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS - The press service of Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray has provided ITAR-TASS with the following brief excerpts from the draft of the new constitution of the Russian Federation:

Article 1

The Russian Federation is a democratic, law-governed, federative state. The only source of state power in the Russian Federation are its multinational people.

Article 8

Recognised and guaranteed in the Russian Federation are the basic rights and liberties stipulated by the universal declaration of human rights and universally recognised principles and norms of the international law.

Every citizen of Russia is entitled to exercise the basic human rights and liberties from the day of his birth.

Article 21

Every citizen has the right to own property, to possess, use and manage it both independently or jointly with other people. Property is inviolable. Nobody can be arbitrarily deprived of his property. The right of private property is a natural right of every citizen.

Citizens and their associations have the right to own legally obtained land or any other private property, to sell, grant, bequeath or dispose of this property in any other way they wish.

Article 26

No one may be adjudged guilty of a crime and subjected to punishment until his guilt is proven according to a procedure stipulated by the law and determined by a court verdict.

One can be taken into custody or deprived of freedom only on the basis of the law and by a court sentence.

Article 39

A citizen of the Russian Federation can neither be stripped of his citizenship nor can the latter be altered. A citizen of the Russian Federation cannot be exiled from Russia. The Russian Federation guarantees its citizens protection and patronage abroad.

Article 46

Citizens have the right to work in conditions, meeting safety and hygiene requirements, to equal remuneration for equal work without any discrimination and not below the law-established minimum, as well as the right to protection against unemployment.

Article 63

Products, goods, services and finances shall freely circulate on the whole territory of the russian federation without any obstruction to any citizen and irrespective of the existing boundaries between the subjects and territories of the russian federation.

It is impermissible to fix any duties or fees for the movement of products, goods, services and finances over the boundaries of the subjects and territories of the federation.

Individual and temporary restrictions on the circulation of products, goods, services and finances may be introduced by the law, if they are required to ensure the security, protect the lives and health of people, to protect nature and cultural values.

Article 70

The president of the Russian Federation is the head of state. The president is the guarantor of the constitution and of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

In accordance with the procedure fixed by the constitution, he takes measures to safeguard the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, its independence and state integrity, ensures the coordinated functioning and interaction of all state bodies.

The president, as head of state, is its supreme authority, representing the Russian Federation inside the country and in international relations.

Article 73

The president of the Russian Federation personally appoints top state officials or submits to the federal assembly candidatures that are to be elected or appointed to such posts.

The president of the Russian Federation:

Submits to the Federal Assembly a candidature to the post of chairman of the government of the Russian Federation;

Raises before the Federal Assembly the question of confidence in the government of the Russian Federation or of its resignation.

Submits to the Federal Assembly a candidature to the post of chairman of the Bank of Russia;

Appoints on recommendation of the chairman of the government of the Russian Federation and after consultations with the Council of the Federation federal ministers and heads of federal departments, included in the government, and relieves them of their duties;

Submits to the Council of the Federation candidatures to the posts of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Federation and the Arbitration Tribunal of the Federation, and of federal judges in the Supreme Court Chamber of the Federation, as well as a candidature to the post of procurator-general of the Russian Federation;

Appoints and relieves the head of the administration of the president of the Russian Federation and other officials of the administration;

Appoints and relieves top commanders of the armed forces; appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian Federation to foreign countries and international organisations.

Article 74

The president of the Russian Federation:

Fixes elections to the Federal Assembly;

Effects, after consulting the chairmen of the Council of the Federation and the State Duma, the preterm dissolution of the Federal Assembly in case the latter fails to adopt a decision, necessary in accordance with the Constitution to form a government of the Russian Federation, and in other cases when a state power crisis cannot be resolved on the basis of the procedures, stipulated by the Constitution;

Fixes a nation-wide referendum; submits his own initiative bills to the Federal Assembly;

Addresses an annual message to the Federal Assembly on the implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of Russia;

Signs and publishes federal laws after their adoption.

Article 84

The Federal Assembly is the supreme representative federal body of the Russian Federation, which adopts federal laws and discharges the control functions stipulated by the Constitution.

Article 85

The Federal Assembly shall consist of two chambers: the Council of the Federation and the State Duma.

The chambers of the Federal Assembly shall be elected simultaneously for 4-year terms on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The procedures governing the election of deputies of the Federal Assembly shall be fixed by a federal constitutional law.

Article 105

The system of executive power in the Russian Federation shall be headed by the government of the Russian Federation, consisting of a chairman of the government and federal ministries.

Article 108

The chairman of the government of the Russian Federation shall determine, on the basis of the constitution and the laws, the principal directions of the government's policy and activities, shall be responsible for them. The federal ministries shall be responsible for implementing the government's policy in corresponding sectors of state administration.

Article 109

The government of the Russian Federation shall discharge, in addition to other general functions of the federal executive power, the following functions:

Draw up the federal budget, submit it to the Federal Assembly, and ensures its execution;

Ensure a single financial, crediting and monetary policy on the territory of the Russian Federation;

Ensure the implementation of the state policy in the field of culture, science, education and public health on the territory of the Russian Federation;

Organise and exercise the management of federal property;

Take measures to ensure the country's defence and state security, implement the foreign policy of the Russian Federation;

Take measures, agreed with the subjects of the federation, to ensure the law, guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens, protect property and enforce public order, to combat crime.

Article 113

Justice in the Russian Federation is administered only by the courts.

Judicial proceedings in the Russian Federation shall be fixed by the constitution and the federal constitutional laws.

Article 121

The Constitutional Court of the Federation shall examine the constitutionality of the laws and injunctions adopted by the Federal Assembly, the decrees issued by the president of the Russian Federation, the acts of other federal bodies, the constitutions of the republics and the statutes of territories and regions, other legal acts adopted by subjects of the federation, as well as intrafederal and international treaties.

The Constitutional Court shall also resolve disputes on competence between federal state bodies, between federal state bodies and state bodies of subjects of the federation, and between state bodies of subjects of the federation.

Article 122

The Supreme Court of the Federation is the highest judicial body to supervise the administration of justice by common courts in civil, criminal, administrative and other cases, and exercise legal supervision over their work, issuing court rulings which are obligatory for the solution of such cases.

Article 123

The Supreme Arbitration Tribunal of the Federation is the highest judicial body called upon to settle economic disputes or other cases, examined by courts of arbitration, exercise legal supervision over their work and issue court rulings which are, obligatory for the solution of such cases.

Article 125

The Supreme Court Chamber of the Federation shall include the chairman of the Constitutional Court of the Federation, the chairman of the Supreme Court of the Federation, the chairman of the Supreme Arbitration Tribunal of the Federation, the first vice-chairmen (deputies) of each of these courts, and also three federal judges appointed to the chamber by the Council of the Federation on recommendation of the president of the Russian Federation.

Meetings of the chamber shall be chaired in turns by the chairmen of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Arbitration Tribunal.

The Supreme Court Chamber shall interpret the Constitution of the Russian Federation;

Issue conclusions on whether or not there are grounds to impeach the president of the Russian Federation;

Relieve federal judges, appointed by the Council of the Federation, whenever there are legally stipulated grounds to do it.

Article 127

Local self-administration is guaranteed to cities, districts, villages and other territorial units. Local administration shall be exercised within the limits of territorial units, fixed in the republics, territories, regions, cities of federal importance, autonomous regions and autonomous districts.

Local self-administration shall be disestablished from state power and shall discharge its functions independently.

* * *

The interim provisions include:

- rigid limits for the execution of death penalties until corresponding amendments are made in the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

- procedure for alternative (military) service until a corresponding law is adopted;

- extension of the powers of the present Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation from the moment the constitution enters into force and until a federal parliament, elected according to the new constitution, is convened, and also the draft election law;

- corresponding extension of the powers of the Council of Ministers-government of the Russian Federation;

- confirmation of the powers of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, and the Supreme Arbitration Tribunal of the Russian Federation.

Yeltsin Orders Ministry To Check Parliament's 'Facts'

LD2304095793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] The press service of the Russian president reported today that in connection with the fact that the Russian Supreme Soviet has circulated information promoting the destabilization of the situation in the country, President Boris Yeltsin has instructed the Security Ministry to check the facts in the information and to send materials on them to the General Procuracy in order for measures to be taken in accordance with legislation.

The president's instruction comes in the wake of the newspapers of the irreconcilable opposition reprinting a falsehood in the form of an anonymous letter which was received yesterday from the services of the Supreme Soviet and which outlined Boris Yeltsin's plan of action which was allegedly to be implemented during the night of 25 April.

Aide Rejects Charge of Yeltsin Planning Coup

MK2304104693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 14

[Boris Klin, Fedor Gladkikh report: "Supreme Soviet Press Center Issues Sensational Statement. Boris Yeltsin Again Accused of Preparing a Coup"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Russian Supreme Soviet press center issued a sensational statement, the essence of which boils down to the allegation that on the night of 25 April, Boris Yeltsin is going to declare "virtual presidential rule" in Russia. KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondents Boris Klin and Fedor Gladkikh report the reaction to the document and some details surrounding its appearance.

The unsigned document, "Information," was issued yesterday by the Supreme Soviet's press center via news agencies. According to Irina Inoveli, an INTERFAX news agency correspondent, it was Konstantin Zlobin, Ruslan Khasbulatov's press secretary, who personally handed the text to her. Mr. Zlobin would not comment on the origin of the document, nor did he tell the names of its authors or those who made handwritten amendments to the last paragraph of the text, Ms. Inoveli said. This is precisely what Mr. Zlobin answered to similar questions asked by us, emphasizing that the document was not a statement by the Supreme Soviet and that he received it from "certain sources at the Russian Security Ministry," and the press center simply issued it. We managed to obtain a copy of the statement with the aforementioned handwritten notes.

The document itself warns about the introduction of virtual "presidential rule" on Russian territory on the night of 25 April for which President Yeltsin is making preparations. According to "Information," measures to "rig the results of the referendum to make them favorable for the president" have been devised on the basis of the presidential order "On Ensuring Law and Order While Preparing and Holding the All-Russian Referendum on 25 April 1993." The anonymous authors of "Information" point to the fact that in order to persecute the representative branch, units of "Cossacks and bandit gangs set up by criminal entrepreneurs (Bokser and so forth)" will be used. It is also reported that Cossack chiefs have already assured the president of their willingness "to give the requisite assistance by sending two large units to Moscow." According to the authors, the power ministries "stay aloof pretending that they do not notice the actions of bandits, hooligans, and terrorists."

Igor Kharichev, assistant chief of the president's administration, told us that the entire document "was full of lies and obviously far-fetched allegations." He also said that he attended the meeting with Cossack chiefs mentioned in the document where "nothing of the kind was discussed." He added that Vladimir Bokser has never had anything to do with entrepreneurship and is in general indifferent to money, is content with what little he has, and spends all his time and efforts on vigorous

political activity. According to Mr. Kharichev, the main purpose of the document is to cast suspicion on the president assuming that by the time it is proved false, it will be too late.

Mr. Kharichev said that the president's administration was conducting business as usual. Yesterday, a telephone conference chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko was held to review preparations for the referendum. Its participants included Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov, presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov, and also chiefs of administrations of all Federation components. The conference discussed matters related to the preparation of the referendum and gave recommendations as to its organization. Among other things, it was emphasized that on the day of the referendum groups of lawyers need to be set up, including local prosecutor's office staffers, to prevent possible violations of the referendum law.

Igor Kharichev noted that the presidential administration, unlike the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, does not hold such meetings behind closed doors, and among participants of today's conference were not only chiefs of administrations, but also heads of local soviets. As an example of dirty political tricks Mr. Kharichev cited an incident mentioned at the conference: The day before yesterday three truckloads of leaflets expressly offensive and defamatory vis-a-vis the Russian president were brought to Kaluga Oblast. He also stressed that "no documents concocted according to Goebbels recipes emerge from the people around the president, nor in principle could they."

Vladimir Stepanov, who was on duty at the Public Relations Center of the Security Ministry Moscow Administration, denied that his ministry had anything to do with the aforementioned document, calling it "a downright falsehood." When asked by us who in his view profited from the distribution of the document, Mr. Stepanov said that "the answer to this question can be found in the text itself that was distributed by some mass media."

As this issue was going to press, it became known that the press service of the Russian Supreme Soviet was drawing up its own press release. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report on it in tomorrow's issue.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

The president's press secretary calls the report a lie

Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, called the statement alleging that on the night of 25 April the president is going to declare virtual presidential rule and rig the referendum results "a continuation of the campaign of lies and slander."

In this connection, Mr. Kostikov thought it necessary to recall the rumors making the rounds in the past few days that Boris Yeltsin "has a large number of posh summer houses being built in various regions of the country." Aleksandr Rutskoy's address to the Supreme Soviet, rumors about the president's summer houses, and the report about his intention to rig the results of the referendum were, in the press secretary's view, "links in a single chain of political provocations."

The statement proved a complete surprise for the Russian Security Ministry

Aleksandr Mikhaylov, chief of the Public Relations Center of the Security Ministry Moscow Administration, expressed his genuine surprise in a conversation with a KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent with regard to the document issued by the press service of the Russian Supreme Soviet about the contemplated introduction of virtual presidential rule in the republic's territory on the night of 25 April.

He said the Russian Security Ministry was not aware of any actions or provocations planned for the time when the all-Russian referendum is to be held. The Russian Security Ministry will work at that time according to its usual schedule envisioned for the conduct of large-scale public and political events and aimed at averting any incidents.

Yeltsin: Rutskoy Should Have Spoken Earlier on Corruption

LD2204180193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy should have submitted his documents on corruption among high-ranking officials to the Prosecutor's Office instead of "accumulating them for months until a proper moment and waiting when the referendum on the trust to the president begins", Boris Yeltsin said on Thursday [22 April] in an interview broadcast by the Russian TV news programme.

Yeltsin admitted that many of the facts cited by Rutskoy comprise a serious problem and that corruption had hit the top echelons of power.

As far as the officials mentioned by Rutskoy are concerned, "they should respond according to the law, if guilty. There can be no exclusions for anyone", Yeltsin said.

Rutskoy Explains Refusal To Take Part in TV Program

LD2204214493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2021 GMT 22 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Vice President Rutskoy has made a statement in which he gave the following reason for his refusal to take part in a live program of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company. Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the company, invited him to take part in the "Talk Show" of the "ViD" program, together with Khasbulatov, Zorkin, and Chernomyrdin, whereas in

fact Rutskoy had asked for an hour of live air time for himself in order to make public his package of documents on corruption.

Aleksandr Rutskoy hopes to receive live air time on the Russian television channel. He said this in the "Parliamentary Hour" radio program. The campaign against me which is under way at present, Rutskoy said on the radio, has fully convinced me that during the presidential elections I was used as a disposable product so that after the elections I would keep out of the way.

Rutskoy Likely To Appear; Khasbulatov Cancels

LD2304140493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It is very likely that Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will speak on the "Vzglyad" program of Ostankino television and radio company this evening. This has been reported by POSTFACTUM. Incidentally, the president's press service is also holding talks with the leadership of the Russian Television company on providing Rutskoy with an opportunity to speak live on the Russian Television channel today.

On the other hand, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov is not taking part in today's "Vzglyad" program. According to INTERFAX, this decision was made after it became known that Viktor Chernomyrdin and Valeriy Zorkin cannot take part in the program, due to various reasons. Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, will take part in the program instead of the speaker.

Rutskoy's Office on Refusal of Airtime

LD2304134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1221 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr—"Russia's Television announced today that it cannot give any airtime to Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy in the days before the referendum because it is impossible to make changes to the program schedule." Reporting this, the vice president's press service expressed "regret that in this way the public has been deprived of its constitutional right to receive information of interest to it about cases of serious abuses in the highest echelons of power."

Earlier today, the press service of the People's Party, which Aleksandr Rutskoy heads, reported that the "Moscow" [local] Television and Radio Company had also taken off his speech in the airtime the party had purchased on a commercial basis.

Rutskoy: Government 'Brainwashing' People '24 Hours a Day'

LD2304110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1046 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliament correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—"The government is brainwashing the people 24 hours a day" on the eve of the referendum, Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told heads of regional Russian soviets on Friday [23 April].

"Analysing the situation in the Russian Federation, one comes to a conclusion that the country is not only in an economic and political crisis, but is definitely and gradually going down into a deep crisis", he said during a hot-line conference of Deputy Parliament Chairman Valentin Agafonov with heads of regional soviets.

"Intellectuals are holding their meetings on this background which resembles a feast during a plague", according to the vice-president.

Agafonov believes the people are to make a choice "between the shock therapy method of US Economist Sachs and a true market economy". He complained that Yeltsin's supporters are doing everything to "concentrate the attention of the people on the fourth question" of the referendum which concerns early parliamentary elections.

Rutskoy Criticizes Yeltsin's Policies, Management

MK2204093293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 9

[Dmitriy Kamin report under "Alliances in Approach to Referendum" rubric: "Aleksandr Rutskoy Has Insufficient Vice Presidential Powers"]

[Text] Speeches by representatives of state authority are becoming increasingly tough as the referendum approaches. At a conference of Moscow public self-government councils yesterday, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy delivered a report on the situation in the country which was more reminiscent of a preelection speech by a presidential candidate.

Rutskoy stated that the authorities should stop engaging in politics and get down in earnest to solving the economy's problems and to fighting corruption. The vice president explained that he himself has no powers to do this, apart from the presidential missions to develop agriculture and fight corruption. According to Rutskoy, these missions are not backed up by real authority and have always been used "to replace unsuitable people." In this connection he stated, clearly alluding to Boris Yeltsin's mentality, that "Russia is not an oblast party committee where you can remove and dismiss people."

The vice president thought it necessary to give an assessment of the president's foreign policy as well, a

policy that in Rutskoy's opinion is leading to Russia's economic dependence on the West being increased. He criticized the privatization being carried out by the government and stressed that the privatization model incorporating privatization accounts which he himself proposed last year is "simple and fair."

Rutskoy thought it would be "unethical" of him to answer the question of a KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent who asked the vice president to name a successor to Yeltsin capable of coping with the crisis in Russia.

'Soviets Alone' Can End Crisis

PM2304113393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "A. Rutskoy Steps Up Attack on Executive"]

[Text] Speaking 21 April in the Parliamentary Center to leaders of Moscow's territorial self-government organs, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy announced his intention to go on live television 23 April on the eve of the referendum.

The fact that A. Rutskoy was taking part in such a poorly attended conference was attributed by his representative V. Sokolov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, to "the heated political situation in the country."

Blaming the mass media, including the electronic mass media, for eulogizing "our remarkable president and government," the vice president himself described the present reforms as "a mockery of the individual taking place against a background of corruption and bribery."

The aim of the democrats in power, according to the vice president, is "to disband soviets at all levels and establish a dictatorship." Although according to him the soviets alone, even with their present composition, are capable of extricating the country from crisis.

A. Rutskoy was negative about the political and economic support being shown by the United States for the reforms course that President B. Yeltsin is pursuing. He spoke about his recent meeting with U.S. congressmen who wanted to ask him some questions about current events. They were told, in fact, that "I ask the questions here in my office, and I am going to think quite hard about letting you ask anything." The flabbergasted Americans, when they tried to protest about the vice president's "lecture," were obliged to listen to yet more sharp words: "There is the door, you are free to leave." A. Rutskoy explained the extravagant style he had used in his dialogue with the Americans by saying that the United States will never allow Russia to be a rival and that its true purpose is to "keep it in an a state of subordination."

A. Rutskoy said a great deal, as he has done previously, about his vision of the problems facing Russia and how they can best be resolved. In particular, he sees the key to the successful implementation of reforms in a policy of national consensus, which, according to him, "has been proposed by the Supreme Soviet, soviets at all levels, and also Civic Union on several occasions." Although he does not believe that the referendum's results will yield anything substantial, the vice president nevertheless described it as a "testimonial of honesty" and expressed the hope that when it is over the confrontation will finally cease: "We must stop our society from sliding toward a state-mafia system."

Lawyer Argues President Cannot Dismiss Vice President

PM2204133593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

["Consultation" by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Boris Lazarev: "Law on Status of Vice President"]

[Excerpts] Following numerous requests from readers we provide a consultation from Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Boris Lazarev. [passage omitted]

The president does not have the right to deprive the vice president of his post. That can only be done by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies (the question is decided within the same procedure as the question of depriving the president himself of his post) and only if the vice president violates the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation (Article 121-10 of the Russian Federation Constitution).

Thus even if serious differences arise between the president and vice president that does not give grounds for raising the question of the vice president's impeachment. Moreover, the president in general cannot even display initiative in officially submitting this question to the Congress of People's Deputies since the right to display this initiative belongs only to the Congress itself, the Supreme Soviet, or at least one of its chambers (article 121-10 of the Russian Federation Constitution).

Alleged Plan To Discredit Rutskoy Exposed

PM2304120193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed "Working Theses" under "'Collective Rasputin': Diary of Political Intrigues" rubric: "Hunt On for Rutskoy"]

[Text] These April theses were written back in October. Of course, they were not meant for publication and so were not provided, as befits documents from such a secret office, either with an exact date or with the authors' names. But you can guess who lies behind each particular expressive formulation employed to badger Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy with clever timing and surround him with "little red flags." Behind one flowery phrase you can see the fine, learned profile of Gennadiy Eduardovich [Burbulis],

behind another you seem to see the diplomatic refinement of Andrey Vladimirovich [Kozyrev]....

Not that we are going to make guesses—we will leave that to the readers. And also to those naive politicians who still do not know how both "love for the president" and hatred of his possible rivals are cooked up in the kitchen of political intrigues. Everyone can see for himself the furious pace at which the fall plans for a "wolf hunt" are being unfurled today.

Working Theses (for Study)

The political situation in Russia will have an objective tendency to exacerbate in the fall—as a result of the limited successes of the policy of economic reforms and the development of quite a broad opposition (left-center-right), which is seeking to remove the Gaydar government and to impose its own model of development based on an evolutionary path of development with a strong role for the state. In this situation it will be necessary for many political and public forces, as well as for considerable sections of the population, to make their individual choices, particularly with regard to possible elections at various levels in 1993.

In the next few months criticism of the current policy will undoubtedly move increasingly toward the figure of the president, and this could seriously destabilize the general situation. At the same time, however, it still cannot be at all effective until there is a strong individual who can appear, if not in the role of an alternative force, then in the role of a "governor" capable of removing the Gaydar government and reducing the president's political role. Today it is finally becoming obvious that the only figure of this kind is the vice president (Popov, Sobchak, Volskiy, Travkin, and certain others can no longer aspire to a national role).

Thus the VP (vice president—ed.) is precisely the figure who can make undesirable amendments to the development of events; and so the priority task is to create a situation of political, social, and psychological discomfort for the VP which will make it possible virtually to put him out of the game (on these terms or others). It is most expedient for this work to be completed by mid-November, with due regard for the expiry of the president's supplementary powers and the danger that an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies will be convened.

The main areas of this work could be defined as follows:

I. The Political Sphere

1. The VP's political powers in the sphere of state management must be limited by showing that the VP is not a participant in the decisionmaking process but fulfills individual assignments. It is important to show that he does not hold the initiative in this sphere but is precisely an executor who is incapable of taking large-scale actions in several areas at once. In this connection we must avoid extending the range of his powers in the practical sphere while at the same time doing so in the protocol-representative sphere.

2. It is necessary to ensure that the VP cannot become the leader of the opposition forces (even of a constructive opposition), since in that case his rating can only go up against the background of the economic crisis. Under certain conditions, though, he could be "pushed" into open opposition, given that he was removed from the vice presidency on a constitutional basis (resignation)—which could be played up in the press in an appropriate key.

Therefore it is important right now, above all, to channel efforts into neutralizing Civic Union's political positions, above all by contrasting the positions of its three leaders and accentuating its unstable existence and its inability to perform government functions. Through the press it must be stressed that Civic Union is not a political option but merely a temporary, ambitious alliance of the persons belonging to it (including the suggestion that for the VP it is a bridge to strengthen personal influence in opposition to the president). In addition, various channels must be used to isolate any more or less influential persons who show a readiness to join Civic Union (every one of them must be confronted with the problem of personal choice and loyalty to the president).

The best option is to secure a split in Civic Union from within (notably by drawing individual representatives of its leadership into existing government power structures).

At the same time maximum effort must be made to exacerbate relations between Civic Union and the national patriotic opposition.

3. Limiting the VP's contacts with the regions and their leaders: The VP must not be perceived as a figure on a national scale for them but must appear in the role of a politician with a narrow profile. The fewer his trips and contacts, the greater the likelihood of reducing his influence in the provinces, particularly when we take account of the proconservative sentiments in many regions. The possibility of the VP's visiting regions where the president has been recently is to be ruled out.

It is a task of paramount importance to make regional elites side with the president, and the VP must on no account participate in this process.

In addition, the activeness of the speaker of parliament is also to be utilized for this purpose. The ultimate goal is to create the opinion that the VP is not interested in the situation in the regions.

4. The mass media should be used according to the principle of a "staged frontal attack." What is needed is a system under which some kind of item appears at least once a week casting doubt on the effectiveness of the VP's activity and on the possibility of an active state role for him. The whole spectrum of publications is to be employed here (both democratic and national patriotic publications, but with the emphasis on, above all, those that enjoy a reputation as being independent).

When articles and materials by Rutskoy and his entourage appear, countermaterials are needed. Special attention is to be given to economic topics, where it is possible to show most clearly the low level and inconsistency of his views, the main thesis being that the VP is a hostage to the command economy and an antimarketeer.

Work must be done with the surrounding republics in mind through the prism of the VP's dangerous "power sentiments." Through this it will be suggested that the president alone is the guarantor of their democratic development without a return to "USSR-ization."

5. Categories of the population: It is essential to actively cut off possibilities for influencing young people. At present this is an open zone of influence, and so the VP has definite opportunities here. As regards the women's movement the situation is more complex, because conservative forces are better organized here.

A special task: In the VP's relations with the Cossacks it is necessary to single out, above all, those elements which entail conflict (land use, role in local management, etc.). We must play on the fact that the VP, in the final analysis, will not be flexible with regard to the Cossacks' specific demands. Plus: We must make full use of disagreements within the Cossacks' ranks and bring certain progovernment groupings of Cossacks closer to the president.

6. In the foreign policy sphere, we aim to frame in our partners' minds the view that the VP has behind him no serious forces inside the country, while those that he does have are forces favoring a return to the past. Special emphasis is to be placed on the VP's adherence to strong-arm actions and to a confrontational approach and on his orientation toward the opinion of conservative circles. Thus it is a common task for us and for forces abroad to keep the "party of war" out of foreign policy.

At the same time emphasis is to be placed on the fact that the VP's inherent level of imperial thinking could lead to a review of interstate agreements and treaties reached recently.

It is particularly important that the VP should be at a certain distance in respect of contacts with leading Western countries and Japan. His emergence in the Third World can be welcomed in individual cases but should be rigidly controlled.

On the whole, the most important argument is his lack of international experience and his inability to seek compromises.

II. The Personal Sphere

1. Emphasis is to be placed on the fact that the VP's character, impulsiveness, and explosiveness could lead to crisis phenomena in the sphere of state management. Thesis: In a difficult situation the country cannot afford the possibility of having a politician of this kind. Special attention is to be devoted to the VP's public statements and to emphasizing instances of a lack of restraint, rash assessments of individuals, including the president's actions, etc.

2. "Cleansing" of the VP's entourage (the apparatus and the circle of business contacts). The main task is to form an information bank for the future, to be used only in a critical situation. Assignments issued by the VP (thrust and spheres) are to be analyzed.

Zorkin Warns Against Presidential Rule

LD2204201793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1740 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Constitutional Chief Justice Valeriy Zorkin is against a presidential rule in Russia as it is impossible to stop a conflict by a dictatorship of the presidential entourage.

"Everything should be done to avoid an open presidential regime in Russia. No matter how powerful the regime may seem, it will explode the situation", Zorkin told a group of Latin American reporters on Thursday [22 April], adding that a presidential rule always turns into a "dictatorship of the clique surrounding the president".

Russia is an enormous country where conflicts, separatism and radicalism are growing and the living standards are decreasing. "All this, I believe, demands an accord rather than an artificial suppression of the conflict by an attempt to establish dictatorship", he said.

Even if such an attempt is made it will be impossible to keep the power. "Other forces will come. And a real nationalistic and fascist dictatorship will emerge. As a result Russia will be thrown back from the path of civilised development for many years", Zorkin stressed, adding that Russian history knows such examples.

The chief justice does not rule out a confrontation in society after a nationwide referendum on April 25. "I am very much concerned by a possibility that the sides may begin unilaterally interpreting the results of the referendum and thus they will act unconstitutionally", he said, adding that in this case early elections of the president and legislators will be inevitable.

Zorkin refused to comment on the relations between the president and the vice-president, saying only that the constitution does not demand the vice-president to step down if the president resigns.

Khasbulatov Fears Referendum 'May Split Society'

LD2204155693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1518 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov fears that the coming referendum may split society. He voiced his opinion on Thursday [22 April] at a meeting with a congress of Russian communities.

The meeting was devoted to problems of Russian-speaking population in former Soviet republics.

The solution of the Russian question is very important for the solution of national problems in the former Soviet Union, Khasbulatov stressed.

Khasbulatov believes former Soviet republics should be a priority for the Russian foreign policy and pins great hopes in this respect on the Interparliamentary CIS Assembly of which he is chairman, according to parliamentary press service.

Heads of Russian communities expressed their concern that over 18 million Russians living in former Soviet republics cannot participate in the coming referendum. Dmitriy Rogozin, head of the Executive Committee of the Congress of Russian Communities, said it is necessary to grant the Russian diaspora in the Commonwealth the right to vote at the presidential and parliamentary elections which are to take place earlier or later, the press centre added.

Supports Enabling Russians Abroad To Vote

LD2204185693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov received representatives of the Congress of Russian Communities this evening in the Golden Hall of the White House. Dmitry Rogozin, chairman of this organization, which was set up less than a month ago, told him how 25 million Russians who find themselves outside the bounds of the Federation, whether they like it or not, are worried by the issue of taking part in early elections, which in his position will inevitably follow the referendum.

Representatives of communities from Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Latvia gave accounts of the situation of the Russian-speaking populations of their countries. Ruslan Imranovich treated their problems with understanding and sympathy, and considered it possible to once more draw attention to the code for resolving ethnic problems within the CIS, which he has discovered:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] If we set up conditions to provide for a normal life for the Russian nation, other nations need not worry. The Russian nation itself will provide a normal existence for any minor small nation, not minor, but small nation. [end recording]

Referendum Issues

Chernomyrdin Urges Scientists To Support Reform

LD2204110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1452 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Stepanov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, believes that Russian science has never been in such a difficult situation as now, even during the terrible years of the great patriotic war. Today at a meeting with members of the presidium of the Engineering Academy of the Russian Federation he noted that in conditions of developing market relations it is important not to lose science by binding it tightly with practice. The head of the government appealed to scientists to help the government solve the problems of economic reform, to arrange stable direct horizontal ties between the republican governments, separate branch structures, and joint stock companies not only in Russia but in all of the CIS. Viktor Chernomyrdin told those gathered there that the Russian Federation Government intends to give the state support to the science in future. The appropriate services of the Russian Federation Government have been instructed to study and make proposals on how to use widely the potential of the Engineering Academy for preserving and developing the branch science and for carrying out complex programs of the scientific and technical development.

Yeltsin Appeals for Support

LD2204091793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0702 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 22 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appealed to the Russian scientific community ahead of the nationwide referendum on who runs Russia to vote in favour of his reform drive. There reforms are "a way towards a democratic, civilized and prosperous country, towards a law-governed state which guarantees rights and freedoms, including the right to free scientific endeavour," the president said in an appeal the text of which was circulated by the president's press service today.

Admitting that blunders were made in the course of economic reform last year, also with respect to science, Yeltsin said he expressly instructed the government to draw up a program of social support for scientists. He expressed confidence that "market relations and consolidation of democracy will help stimulate the interest in scientific research and demand for its results".

Paper Carries Appeal

PM2204192193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 1

["Boris Yeltsin Addresses Russian Scientific Community"—ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI headline]

[Text] Esteemed scientists!

I am deeply concerned about the state of and prospects for the development of Russian science.

Scientists were among the first to see behind the smokescreen of demagoguery and harebrained schemes, recognize the criminal essence of bolshevism, and realize the historical futility of the path of development imposed on society. Scientists were in the forefront of those who raised their voices in defense of freedom and democracy even when things were at their worst.

I know that many, many people working in the intellectual sphere are finding life hard. A multitude of completely new, unfamiliar problems has arisen. People are tired and exasperated. But I do believe that the Russian scientific intelligentsia will never relinquish its newfound professional freedom.

Far be it from me to try to explain away the mistakes that have been made in the course of the economic reform in relation to science. Unfortunately, there have been many, but they can all be rectified. Which makes it all the more important now to arrest the tendency toward self-preservation which was just beginning to establish itself in science. It is profoundly mistaken. The slogan "every man for himself" is totally inapplicable in this case. The applied sciences will find uses much more quickly and much more easily in market economy conditions. What worries me much more is the future of basic research—Russia's pride and joy and the foundation of all our progress.

The Russian Academy of Sciences and the sectoral academies represent a unique system for organizing scientific research within a statewide scientific structure. It must be preserved and strengthened. I do not see any sensible alternative to the principles of self-management in its development and activities.

At the same time, the system and structure of scientific funding must be fundamentally changed. First and foremost we need regular budget funding of basic research. Measures are being taken to transfer the requisite land, part of the hard currency earnings, and additional buildings and installations to the academies of sciences. I have instructed the government to prepare a program of social support for scientists.

One of the most serious, chronic problems afflicting basic research, society, and the state is underutilization of scientific developments on the part of our economy and our state power structures. Scientists have something to offer. But many developments still fall by the wayside.

It used to be due to planned economy inertia. Now it is the economic crisis and the vast inertia displayed by the Russian bureaucratic machinery. I am sure that market relations and the establishment of democracy will make for more interest in scientific research and demand for its results.

We still lack an effective mechanism for the transfer of new ideas and knowledge to the sphere of state management. The establishment of such a mechanism I regard as a task of state importance. Your activities in this sphere will have the president's support.

The president and the government intend to put forward soon a number of major national programs for the development of Russia. They include the development of the energy industry and energy supply, microelectronics and computers, communications systems, biotechnology, space research, the development of new materials and technologies. Support will be given to agricultural science and all departments of basic research in the natural and humanitarian sciences.

All our projects can be implemented only as long as the transformations continue. The future of the reforms and the future of Russia are in the people's hands.

I appeal to all members of Russia's creative intelligentsia to use their votes to support the reforms we are carrying out. They are the way to a democratic, civilized, and prosperous country, to a rule-of-law state in which the protection of rights and freedoms, including the right to free scientific creativity, is guaranteed.

No matter what difficulties we run into today, I believe that Russia will find the strength to drag itself out of the quagmire. There is simply no alternative!

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

[Dated] 22 April 1993

Chernomyrdin Chairs Referendum Commission Forum

LD2204215193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1623 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting was held today of the government commission responsible for preparing and holding the Russian nationwide referendum on 25 April 1993. The meeting's participants heard about the financing of the work of local referendum commissions and their provision with communications, transport, and premises.

Addressing the meeting, Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, stressed that the government commission's main task is to create normal conditions for the work of the polling stations during the nationwide voting. "The government's duty is to provide an opportunity for people to express their will, and the choice itself is up to the people," the premier noted.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Viktor Chernomyrdin stated that the government commission has virtually completed its preparatory work for holding the referendum.

Vote-Counting Commission Head Releases Information

LD2304100193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—The number of Russian registered voters totals 105,539,421 people, according to the chairman of the main vote-counting commission.

The referendum will take place in 96,776 polling stations across Russia and the final results are expected to be known on May 5, Vasiliy Kazakov said at a press conference on Friday [23 April].

However, the vote-counting commission will daily report the data coming from polling stations beginning from April 27.

Kazakov denied reports that up to 50 million ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics will participate in the referendum. He said only 300,000 of them will vote, according to preliminary estimates.

Although the Russian parliament ruled it to be undesirable that Russian servicemen in the Commonwealth participate in the referendum, Kazakov believes the military can come to the polling stations at Russian embassies and consulates in former Soviet republics.

On Thursday the Russian president cancelled the parliamentary decision and allowed the servicemen to vote.

Moscow boasts the biggest electorate of 7,065 thousand people, the smallest one is in Evenkia—13,000 people.

Stankevich Stresses Need for Early Elections

PM2204124993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1

[Sergey Stankevich article: "To Fresh Elections Via the Referendum"]

[Text] Why do we need the referendum? In order to clear the way for a new stage of democratic transformations in Russia.

Today, in my view, the scenario of political stabilization looks like this. The referendum will define the actual disposition of forces in society and indicate the forces which enjoy the most support from our citizens. Next we need to hold early elections. We should hold parliamentary elections at the very least. But the president is also prepared to hold presidential elections at the same time. Moreover, they should be held as early as the fall of 1993. The present Constitution does not envisage the holding of early elections, and therefore we can only approach these via a referendum, which is stipulated by the third and fourth questions of the plebiscite.

Regarding the first two questions of the referendum—on confidence in the president and his policy—the support of more than half who turn out to vote is more likely to have moral and psychological significance. Even a moral victory will be sufficient to enable the president to act with confidence as the legitimate leader of Russia who enjoys the support of its population.

Of course, it is difficult to expect unanimous support for the president's socioeconomic course. The inevitable negative consequences of the reforms have been too harsh for many people. Here a split in the voting is likely—about half and half. I think this will be a major signal for changes in the reforms in order to strengthen their social aspect. Quite bluntly, the president, without waiting for the outcome of the vote, has already moved to galvanize his social policy. Moreover, in reply to possible opponents, I would caution them against making accusations that the president is pursuing a financially irresponsible experiment in order to win over the votes of the electorate. The president seriously intends to strike a balance between the fairly harsh demands of anti-inflation policy and the necessary social guarantees. The search for this balance forms the essence of the policy which is currently being pursued.

The main thing we must not allow is backtracking. Any attempt to return us to the command economy, fixed prices, and total state distribution would turn out to be disastrous for Russia. This option should be safely ruled out.

However, arguments about how best to implement the reforms are basically helpful. The president is prepared for these and prepared for the fact that voters will mobilize some new politicians during the upcoming elections. At any rate, his position of "four 'yes votes'" at the referendum indicates that he is convinced that the direction in which we are moving is the right one, and therefore he is ready to accept the verdict of the voters both at the referendum and in the subsequent elections.

Presidential Directive on Legality During Referendum

PM2304091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1

["Directive of the President of the Russian Federation on Ensuring Legality during the Preparation for and Holding of the All-Russia Referendum on 25 April 1993;" issued in Moscow on 19 April]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, the heads of executive authority and the councils of ministers of constituent republics of the Russian Federation, and the heads of administrations of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal status of the Russian Federation, which are empowered under the RSFSR Law "On the Referendum of the RSFSR" to monitor the preparation for and conduct of the referendum and violations of the rights of citizens and their associations in carrying

out campaigning on the questions submitted for the referendum, are instructed—in view of the instances of opposition to the activity of organs of executive authority and representatives of political and other public organizations and mass movements, labor collectives, assemblies of citizens, and the mass media—to ensure compliance with the Law "On the Referendum of the RSFSR."

All cases of such unlawful action should be immediately reported to organs of the prosecutor's office and to the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation.

To ensure compliance with legality and to safeguard law and order staffers of internal affairs organs are to be on constant duty at each all-Russia referendum polling place and at the places of work of the referendum commissions on referendum day.

Monitoring of the execution of this directive is vested in the heads of executive power, the councils of ministers of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, the heads of administrations of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal status within the Russian Federation and the representatives of the president of the Russian Federation in krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal status within the Russian Federation.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin

[Dated] 19 April 1993, Directive No. 259

Russian Servicemen To Participate in Referendum

LD2204201493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1742 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an instruction on Thursday [22 April] "on exercising the constitutional right of Russian citizens - servicemen - to take part in the referendum."

In accordance with the instruction, the same right should be exercised as regards servicemen of the Russian armed forces in military units stationed outside the Russian Federation. Corresponding instructions were given to the Russian ministers for defence, the interior and security.

"Earlier, the Russian Parliament had adopted a resolution saying that holding the referendum in military units outside Russia is inexpedient, illegal and that it should be cancelled," Sergey Yushenkov, first deputy head of the Russian Information Centre and leader of the Radical Democrats parliamentary faction, told TASS on Thursday.

According to Yushenkov, Russian lawmakers say they adopted the resolution proceeding from the fact that Russian units in many republics of the former Soviet Union, for instance, in Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, by 70-80 per cent consist of local servicemen, and, therefore, there is no point "in making fuss" over the remaining 20-30 per cent of servicemen - Russian citizens. "As a result of such an approach, many thousands of servicemen having the right to vote in the referendum, will be deprived of an opportunity to express their will. Attempts to reduce the number of voters in the referendum are playing into the hands of the Russian Parliament," Yushenkov said

Officers Union Says Servicemen's Votes May Be Lost

PM2204132993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 2

[Irina Savchenko report: "Sociologists' 'Red Telephone': 257-30-20, 257-34-80"]

[Text] A statement by the Officers' Union on the holding of the referendum in the Armed Forces has come over the "red telephone." [Although not expressly identified as such, the following paragraph would appear to be the aforementioned "statement."]

According to Part 3 of Article 27 of the RSFSR law of 16 October 1990 "On the RSFSR Referendum," servicemen living outside military units are included in the lists at their place of residence in the normal way. Everything is clear here. On the basis of the Supreme Soviet decision the referendum will also be held in military units—which fully accords with Part 4 of Article 25 of the Law on the Referendum. The Defense Ministry leadership has declared that servicemen during the compulsory term of service will vote in closed polling places formed on the territories of military units. Representatives of the public or of the mass media will not be admitted to them. The ministry ban runs directly counter to Article 6 of the RSFSR law "On the RSFSR Referendum"—which could mean the results of the voting in garrison polling places being declared invalid in accordance with Articles 35 and 36 of the said law. This means that millions of votes will fall by the board in the expression of the people's will.

Military sociologists have conducted a poll of cadre servicemen on their attitude to the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country. The study was conducted in garrisons in the cities of Tambov, Stavropol, Solnechnogorsk, Baltiysk in Kaliningrad Oblast, Omsk, Ryazan, Perm, and Ulyanovsk. Precisely 772 officers and ensigns of all branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops of the Russian Federation were polled.

The poll showed that the majority of officers and ensigns (68 percent) continue to rate the government's activity negatively. Compared with the poll conducted in December 1992, the number of people making a positive

assessment of its activity has fallen (8.8 percent in March 1993, 14 percent in December 1992). One in four of those polled considers the present government's activity less successful. But almost half of those polled found it hard to make such a comparison.

Shakhray: Emergency Measures Rumor 'Absolutely Groundless'

PM2204105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1

[Alan Kasayev report under the "In the Government" rubric: "Sergey Shakhray Denies Rumors"]

[Text] Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray has held a news conference in the Russian Government Press Center. The vice premier's latest meeting with journalists was mainly devoted to issues relating to preparations for the upcoming referendum. In his introductory remarks, Shakhray dwelt on certain particular features of the upcoming referendum and its possible consequences. He stated that the draft Constitution which it is planned to examine after the referendum has been prepared on the basis of several already existing drafts and cannot be called the "Shakhray, Rumyantsev, or Alekseyev draft." "This draft will go down in history as the president's draft," Shakhray stated. Speaking about the possibility of the president's taking emergency measures on the day of the referendum or after it, Shakhray described these rumors as absolutely groundless, thereby rebutting among others Vasiliy Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of Civic Union.

Shumeyko Confers With Administrators on Referendum

LD2204161093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent German Solomatin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Vice Premier Shumeyko is today holding an intercom conference with Russian heads of administration. Referendum preparations are among the items on the agenda.

[Solomatin] [video shows Shumeyko chairing meeting, also attended by Filatov] At 1000 this morning First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and members of the central government commission on referendum preparations began an intercom conference at the Russian Communications Ministry with representatives of the administration in all Russian republics, regions, krays, and oblasts. Vladimir Shumeyko reminded all participants in the conference of the president's directives on the need to abide by the law, on procedures for voting, on procedures for the work of observers, on the need for strict control on the use of budget funds for canvassing and campaigning, the need to prevent use of the government communications network for canvassing and campaigning, and on the need for the central commission to issue current information about the progress of voting.

According to reports, preparations for the referendum are in full swing. However, evidence of a string of contraventions has already been received. The representative of the administration in Vladimir told the conference about an illegal meeting being held on agriculture. The 3-hour meeting attended by farm managers spent only 15 minutes discussing agriculture. The rest of the time was taken up with open canvassing and propaganda. Anti-presidential leaflets were distributed. The conference was chaired by a Supreme Soviet representative who made a special trip from Moscow.

From Kaluga it has been reported that a truck-load of anti-presidential leaflets arrived from Moscow. The representative of Moscow at the conference said that the Supreme Soviet is using fictitious organizations to distribute campaign literature. He added that official information posted in Moscow is being torn down very quickly by groups of people. In Mordovia the republican president's bank account has been sequestrated.

Other difficulties are also being encountered. It is reported from Tomsk that spring highwater on the Ob is making it impossible to reach a number of flooded districts. Forest fires have broken out in Chita and the surrounding Oblast. There is no fuel for helicopters used to fight the fires and transport ballot papers to constituencies. However, the situation in the country as a whole is calm, and Russians intend to take an active part in the voting.

The general conclusion to be drawn from what was heard at this intercom conference is that virtually everything is ready for the referendum. According to forecasts of voting patterns in the localities, 60-70 percent of Russian citizens will turn out to vote. Russia's future will depend on their decision.

Rutskoy's, Travkin's Referendum Views Reported

MK2204102093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 9

[Yevgeniy Yanayev report under "Alliances in Approach to Referendum" rubric: "Civic Union Invites Support for Itself"]

[Text] A meeting between the leadership of the Civic Union centrist coalition and its supporters took place yesterday in the House of Unions. The following leaders of the bloc took part in the meeting: Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy; Aleksandr Vladislavlev, coordinator and cochairman of the "Renewal" union's governing body; Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the union's executive committee; and Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia. Participants in the meeting invited Russian citizens to vote in the referendum for early elections of both the president and deputies.

This was the first time that Civic Union had held a mass action. Several thousand activists from the political parties and movements making up this centrist bloc gathered in the House of Unions. Lipitskiy, chairman of Civic Union's executive committee, stated that centrists are concerned over the fate of the constitutional system and that the present meeting's task was to help the union's supporters understand what they should do during and after the referendum in order to preserve order and democracy in the country.

"Renewal" union leader Vladislavlev stated that only elections in all branches of power could stabilize the present situation in the country. Vladislavlev also said that he would answer the referendum's second question (on assessing the government's and president's policy) in the negative, because he is dissatisfied with the way in which socioeconomic policy is being carried out. As for answering the question on confidence in Yeltsin, in Vladislavlev's opinion an affirmative answer is possible only if in his pre-referendum appeal to the people the president takes steps toward a compromise and guarantees to the country the preservation of democracy and the constitutional system.

In the opinion of Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, what is going on now is not a struggle between communists and democrats but between two heads of communist authority. "And both of them are filth! And now we are invited to make a choice," Travkin stated.

In his speech Civic Union overlord Rutskoy stated that "the dictatorship of a brazen and corrupt minority has been established in the country," and called on everyone who treasures Russia's honor and history "to say no to dictatorship and the state's destruction," that is, in essence he called for a "no" answer to the first two questions.

Rutskoy Denies Referendum Marks 'Rubicon'

PM2204094393 London THE EUROPEAN in English 22-25 Apr 93 p 10

[Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy article as part of "Open Doorway to the Future" feature pegged to 25 April referendum]

[Text] There is a lot of talk at the moment in our country about the referendum, which is rightly considered to be one of the most important political events on the calendar. To a great extent this is justified, because the people have been given the chance to exercise the rights which are guaranteed to them in the Russian Constitution. I therefore support the idea of the referendum and think that every Russian citizen should make up his mind today.

For me, as for many others, the referendum is not only a political event, but also—even more—a moral choice. We have to think who we are and where we are and whether we could live as we do now, not changing our reality but only the colour of totalitarianism.

That is why I want as many people as possible to take part in the referendum and give their assessment of what is happening today in the country and of those who are leading it.

The coming referendum is not a matter of sorting out winners and losers but of judging the correctness of the path that has been chosen. It is not a choice between the president and the chairman of the parliament of the Russian Federation, but rather a choice of the future path of development—to slide lower under the slogan of "shock therapy", or to emerge in a civilised way from the situation that has been created, relying on our own abilities, on our historical and cultural traditions and on the mentality of the nation.

In this context, I think that the most importnat of the four questions, from the point of view of its socio-political consequences, is the second one. The answer given to it predetermines the answers to the three others. Socio-economic policy and the course of reform lie at the heart of the real struggle which has evolved within the parliament and the government and within those who surround the president.

If the current socio-political line is approved—which I strongly doubt—then it will open the way for the final destruction of the Russian economy as a national economy. It will sharply aggravate the process already under way of the impoverishment of the population and will create a basis for the replacement of democratic institutions by personal dictatorship.

That is why the "Civic Union", as a strong political force with a centrist orientation, believes the referendum will give a start for new policies in Russia.

It can be done only in one civilised way—through the holding of early elections for the president as well as the parliament (not the Congress of People's Deputies, but rather a new two-chamber parliament meeting on a permanent basis). That is why we are urging our supporters to say "Yes" to the third and fourth questions of the referendum. In such a case the new elections could take place this autumn.

For myself, and I believe many Russians, the referendum is not the Rubicon, after which life starts anew and all problems are automatically solved. It is just a transit point in the new political history of Russia, with great, but not decisive, significance. And it would be a big mistake—which, unfortunately, is being made both in the West and in the CIS—to think that the world will suddenly collapse and the Cold War return.

Russia has the opportunity to make its choice. Let the referendum determine the real will and desires of Russians. Because Russia, even with great difficulties and mistakes, is entering the civilised world.

Opponents Admit Yeltsin 'Will Win' Referendum

LD2204181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—The Socialist Workers' Party of Russia admitted on Thursday [22 April] that President Boris Yeltsin will win support of the population, but only thanks to a massive brainwashing campaign on the eve of the referendum.

The leaders of the party said at a press conference that the referendum "will give a trump card to those who want tough decisions", but this will be a temporary victory.

The conflict between authorities will aggravate after the referendum and the main events are to be expected in autumn, they added.

The Socialist Workers' Party, as well as the Congress of Leftist Democratic Forces of which it is a member jointly with independent trade unions, work collectives and parties of socialist orientation, see the early elections of supreme authorities as the only democratic way out of the current crisis.

Socialists oppose any forms of authoritarian authority, it was stated at the press conference.

Opposition Unites Efforts in Runup to Referendum

LD2204181393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by S. Milyanchikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The parties and movements in opposition to the government and the president have united under a common idea of saving the Constitution and constitutional system and set up a provisional bloc under the same name. Among its founders are the National Salvation Front, Russian Unity, Officers' Union, and others. According to one of the co-founders, Vladimir Isakov:

[Begin Isakov recording] President Yeltsin, the initiator of the referendum, is saying that, without waiting for the official announcement of the results, he will change the balance of power in his favor, while his local supporters and representatives are getting ready to back these measures by acts of direct violence. An anticonstitutional coup d'etat will not pass! We are using all our influence, all necessary measures, including—if need be—measures of civil disobedience and resistance in order to protect the Constitution and Russia's constitutional system. [end recording]

[Milyanchikov] Meanwhile, before the referendum the opposition, themselves violating laws and the Constitution, and ignoring a prohibition by the Moscow mayoralty of a mass meeting, have decided to hold a march of indignant people anyway, and evidently to begin protecting the Constitution and law after the referendum.

'Study Group' Warns of Rigging of Referendum Results

PM2204144593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yuriy Moskvich, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences and Russian people's deputy (Krasnoyarsk); Aleksandr Sobyanin, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, of the independent information-analysis group (Moscow); and Vladislav Sukhovolskiy, candidate of biological sciences, of the Institute of Applied Systems Studies (Krasnoyarsk): "Science of Election 'Persuasion'"]

[Excerpts] Our study group has been working on a mathematical election theory since 1990 and the elections of Russian people's deputies. Particular attention has been paid to analyzing the various kinds of falsification and means of identifying them. [passage omitted]

How did matters stand with falsification during the 1991 presidential election? According to our estimates, there were not many cases of falsification—1.5-2 percent of the total number of ballot papers. However, there are good grounds for speaking of MASS falsification in the course of the presidential election in Kemerovo and Smolensk Oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, Kyzyl City, and a number of other regions and cities.

Ethics have not improved since then.

Last week's elections of administration heads in a number of Russia's regions showed that the level of falsification is very high in some areas. Thus, in Bryansk Oblast, where the main election battle was waged between Russian People's Deputy V. Barabanov, the incumbent administration head, and another Russian people's deputy, Yu. Lodkin, a member of the "Communists of Russia" faction, the election results in certain rayons give rise to serious doubts. In particular, according to official figures, 9,295 people turned out to vote in Gordeyevskiy Rayon out of the registered 10,865 voters. That did not even happen during "Brezhnev's" elections! Detailed statistical analysis enables us to assume that the majority of the 3,812 ballot papers in favor of Yu. Lodkin were simply planted [podbrosit].

It is very easy to check the results of our analysis. Let us ask the voters who voted in districts with an unprecedented turnout whether they really took part in the election. And whether their signatures are on the voting lists.

By and large, according to our estimates, the number of ballots in favor of Yu. Lodkin was almost doubled by dint of falsification.

There are also serious doubts about the authenticity of the election results in Orel Oblast. As in Bryansk Oblast

we encountered a fantastic voter turnout—over 90 percent. Moreover voters did not make mistakes either: In one of the oblast's rayons where 92 percent of registered voters turned out for the election only 45 out of a total of 4,000 or more ballots instead of the "normal" 120-150 were wrongly completed. All these "correct" voters voted as one for Yegor Stroyev, the former CPSU Central Committee secretary, who was elected head of the oblast administration.

According to our estimates, Ye. Stroyev's final result, "stripped" of the supposed falsifications, should have been at least 50-60 percent lower.

On the eve of the referendum 25 April this really makes one wary, indicating a danger that the referendum's results will be decided not by the way in which the voters vote, but by how actively the ballots are rigged by the electoral commissions.

Fortunately, modern computers have sufficient capacity to promptly analyze the reliability of the referendum's results for each of the 100,000 electoral wards and ascertain cases of falsification and those involved. And the course of the referendum will be monitored in this way. Certain politicians and their supporters must be stopped from winning elections before they start. Otherwise why hold elections at all?

Poll Shows 'No Hopes' for People's Deputies

LD2304085093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—Less than 15 per cent of Russians support the Congress of People's Deputies which leaves no hopes for a political reanimation of this branch of authority, according to an opinion poll conducted by the Russian "Mneniye" sociological service jointly with the British Gallup poll and "Saatchi and Saatchi" company in six Russian regions. The traditional Western form of group disputes was used in the poll which is considered to be the most effective form during election campaigns.

Passiveness is the biggest threat to the coming referendum as most Russians may prefer to work on their plots of land on Sunday rather than come to the polls, head of the "Mneniye" service Grigoriy Pashkov told TASS on Friday [23 April]. Most of those who have to toil the land to get additional food for the family are people with per capita monthly incomes less than 4.6 thousand roubles and they comprise the bulk of Boris Yeltsin's opponents.

However, the poll showed that presidential opponents are more resolute to participate in the referendum than his supporters.

The second question at the referendum on the support to the presidential course of reforms may get a lot of the negative answers because of its vague wording proposed by the Congress of People's Deputies. Sociologists believe that had the question asked whether the president should continue reform or not there would more affirmative answers.

IZVESTIYA Disowns 'Antireform' Pamphleteers

PM2204151993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "For IZVESTIYA Readers' Information"]

[Text] The editorial board has received information of late from IZVESTIYA subscribers in various population centers to the effect that leaflets urging them not to express their confidence in the Russian president in the referendum and pamphlets containing the text of vice president A. Rutskoy's famous "expose" speech at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session on 16 April were dropped in their mailboxes together with the newspaper. The leaflets were signed by the "Reforms for the People" committee, which, it has now been established, does not actually exist, while the Rutskoy speech, on 16 typewritten sheets, does not contain any information about the publisher.

The IZVESTIYA editorial board states that it has nothing to do with the dissemination of these materials together with the newspaper. To all appearances, it is the work of local antireform forces, in particular soviets. For instance, according to a report from Tver, copies of the pamphlet containing the vice president's speech were ordered from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet by Tver Oblast Soviet and its general department is in charge of distributing the text.

Economic Issues

Further on Shumeyko 21 Apr News Conference

MK2204132493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 3

[Boris Boyko report: "Shumeyko Press Conference. Vice Premier Confident in Stabilization of Economy"]

[Excerpt] The government is not going to change its economic policy whatever the referendum outcome. This was stated by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko at a press conference yesterday.

According to Vladimir Shumeyko, it is already possible to say that the Russian economy has entered a period of stabilization. Attesting to this, according to Shumeyko, is a report prepared by the Russian State Committee for Statistics on the results of the first quarter of 1993. The total volume of industrial production in the first quarter remained at the level of the last three months of last year. Keeping in mind the fact that the number of working days in the latter quarter of 1992 was greater than in the first quarter of this year, it can be concluded that real

growth in industrial production amounted to 2 percent. Should voters say no to the second question in the referendum, it would only mean disapproval of the economic policy of the previous government. As for the Chernomyrdin cabinet, which has managed to achieve stabilization, it would continue its activities and would be guided, as before, by the action plan adopted in January.

These statements should, apparently, be regarded as veiled campaigning on the threshold of the referendum. This judgment is supported by a controversy between what the government says and does. On one hand, Shumeyko speaks about continuing the government's tough credit policy. On the other, a decision has already been made on the provision of urgent aid to the agriculture sector and the miners (despite the fact that coal production is 4 percent up over the fourth quarter of last year). To implement these decisions alone would require upwards of 5 trillion rubles, something that puts in doubt the so zealously declared toughness of the financial policy. [passage omitted]

Privatization Seen Threatened by Ministries

MK2104141493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 2

[Yevgeniya Galan report: "Anatoliy Chubays Press Conference. Privatization Has Sharpened Differences in Government]

[Text] **"Various government agencies lay claim to managing state property. If they succeed in this, that would be the end of the privatization process," Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, said at a meeting with journalists yesterday. Observers, however, believe that the crisis in the government on the privatization issue will peak early in May, when the State Committee for the Management of State Property submits for government scrutiny the 1993 privatization program.**

According to Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays, the sharpening of differences on the privatization issue results from the attempts by sectoral ministries to take over the functions of state property management. Observers note in this connection that under the Statute of the Russian State Committee for Industrial Policy confirmed by the government on 13 April, this agency can conclude contracts with the heads of federally owned enterprises in the textile, light industry, timber, pulp and paper, and woodworking sectors, provided this right has been delegated to it by the State Committee for the Management of State Property.

A draft presidential edict, however, "On the Procedures for Interaction of State-Run Enterprises With Bodies of State Control in Russia in the Sphere of State Property Management," drafted by specialists of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, does not envision this right. On the contrary, the State Committee for the Management of State Property is trying to protect enterprises against tough direct control by the ministries. It is precisely for this reason, the committee argues, that it should take over the exclusive right to concluding contracts with heads of enterprises. In addition to the draft prepared by the State Committee for the Management of State Property, there is another variant of the presidential edict prepared by specialists on the staff of Vice Premier Georgiy Khizha. This draft indeed envisions wider powers for state structures in exercising control over enterprises. Both variants have been examined by experts of the Council for Industrial Policy led by Vladimir Kadannikov, general director of the Joint Stock Company "Avtovaz." Heads of major and viable industrial enterprises, who form the Council, backed the variant of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Observers, however, believe that the government may ignore the expert appraisal of the Council. Besides, during the discussion of the 1993 privatization program that the State Committee for the Management of State Property is to submit for government approval in early May, the ministries will try to amend it so that they can exercise control over the operation of enterprises and manage state property.

Chubays: Privatization's Opponents Hope To Oust Yeltsin

MK2204113493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 9

[Yelena Kotelnikova report under "Alliances in Approach to the Referendum" rubric: "Referendum Results Will Affect Progress of Privatization"]

[Text] The direct dependence between the president's firm position and the government's economic policy course is forcing Boris Yeltsin's supporters to step up their political activeness on the eve of the referendum. Within the framework of the preparations for 25 April, a news conference of Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays and a conference of regional branches of the All-Russia Association of Enterprises Being Privatized and Private Enterprises took place in Moscow yesterday.

The vice premier believes that the ultimate aim of privatization's opponents is not to curtail it and not even to replace Chubays, but to oust the president. In this connection "a well-orchestrated action" is how the vice premier described the recent speech in parliament by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who accused the leadership of the State Committee for the Management of State Property of corruption. Chubays said here that he does not intend to take legal proceedings initially because he prefers to use his time more fruitfully and "wrench several hundred enterprises from the hands of Rutskoy's friends and hand them over to people." Chubays thought it necessary to issue a public warning that the government's course could fundamentally change with Oleg Lobov's appointment as first vice premier and economy minister, because the Economy Ministry has obtained higher status than the Finance Ministry. In the vice premier's opinion the firmest supporters of radical

reforms are the president and owners and possessors of shares in privatized enterprises. In this connection observers note that yesterday's conference of regional branches of the All-Russia Association of Enterprises Being Privatized and Private Enterprises did not confine itself to solving only problems associated with protecting the interests of the association's members in domestic and foreign markets. Participants in the conference approved a proposal by Yegor Gaydar, the association's president, "to support reformist forces in the government" and decided to send their own representatives as referendum observers. Consequently, on the eve of the referendum the presidential side will obtain the support of a fairly representative public organization possessing independent financial resources.

Shafranik Outlines Plans To Support Coal Industry

PM2204111393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 5

[Yekaterina Vasilchenko report: "State Takes Miners Under Its Wing"]

[Text] In the first quarter of this year the fuel and energy complex and the coal industry, in particular, were on target and even exceeded expectations to some extent. This news was conveyed to journalists at a briefing by Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik.

Moreover, the ministry has prepared a package of documents aimed at supporting the coal industry. It includes draft edicts of the president and draft decrees of the Supreme Soviet and government aimed at stabilizing the coal industry in 1993-1994 and improving settlements and the financial state of the sector and envisages tax, export, import, and customs concessions and coal enterprises' exemption from the payment of penalties for the late submission of funds for social insurance. The minister said that creating a mechanism to implement these documents is the chief task of the next two months.

If the measures planned by the minister are efficiently carried out, the coal industry's entry into the market will be carried out under the solicitous protection of the state, and it is certainly no accident that the newly created "Rosugol" concern, which is vested with all economic functions, is headed by Yuriy Malyshev, former head of the Ministry of Fuel and Energy Coal Industry Committee.

At the same time the minister did not deny that the state no longer intends to bolster inefficient mines with subsidies. But their closure must be accompanied by the commissioning of new capacities, which, incidentally, is true for other sectors of the fuel and energy complex too. This has prompted the Ministry of Fuel and Energy to conclude an agreement with the Russian Committee for Geology and the Exploitation of Mineral Resources which supplements the provisions of the law on mineral resources adopted one year ago. The Ministry of Fuel and Energy, within whose domain the organizations extracting sources of fuel fall, pledges to allocate funds for the development of the geological sector, but, in return, wants to have a say, along with the Russian Committee for Mineral Resources and the regional authorities, in the disposal of what comes out of the ground. According to the minister, this insistence is dictated by the fact that our economy has begun to depend on the fuel and energy complex much more in recent years than before: The energy-intensiveness of production has increased by 38 percent while the extraction of fuel continues to fall.

Military & Space Issues

Grachev Implicated in Abuse of Official Position

LD2204163593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Russia's General Procurator's Office is carrying out a study of materials and documents which have arrived from the Interdepartmental Commission of the Security Council for the struggle against crime and corruption, regarding facts of corruption and abuse during the privatization of state property, the implementation of foreign economic operations, the fulfilment of the "Harvest-90" program, the marketing of property of the Western Group of Forces, and the conducting of financial operations and dealings in "red mercury."

Criminal proceedings relating to instances of the production and marketing of so-called "red mercury" have been instigated based on the results of a study of the materials received, ITAR-TASS was informed by the procurator general's public relations information center. Interrogation is to be carried out of Gennadiy Burbulis; Sadykov and others, heads of the "Promekologiya" concern; employees of the Russian president's administration; and also government officials who adopted decisions on questions of financial operations and dealings in "red mercury."

The procurator general's office has proposed that the Russian Government present its official findings regarding the degree of damage which has been inflicted upon the state as a result of the implementation of the "Harvest-90" program, and to establish the group of officials involved in carrying out this program.

During investigations into a criminal case concerning instances of illegal deals involving the marketing of mobile and immobile property of the Western Group of Forces, the General Procuracy uncovered new instances of abuse of official positions by the High Command of the Western Group of Forces, and the Russian Defense Ministry, including personally by Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Defense Ministry Facing Financial Difficulties

LD2104143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1326 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—All the draft documents connected with defence expenditure will undergo a prior economic examination and have to be approved by the head department for the military budget and financing of the Russian Ministry of Defence.

This is the requirement of the new directive from the Russian defence minister, Army General Pavel Grachev on the strict purpose-based and thrifty use of money according to the ministry's estimates and as reported today by Colonel-General Vasiliy Vorobyev, head of this department.

According to him, the difficult financial situation which the Russian Armed Forces are now in "is forcing us to be careful in allocating money for defence." "Now the role of military financiers has changed radically", he said. "They do not only control the legality of expenditure, but have an economic purpose, finding the necessary funds."

In his opinion, the ministry's directive is extending the limits of its work and "checking whether it has a legal basis."

Since the defence budget has been cut to the absolute minimum and the financing of the Armed Forces is carried out as if "in front line conditions", saving money is a vital necessity, General Vorobyev said.

Details of Molniya-3 Satellite Launch Released

LD2204092193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Another Molniya-3 communications satellite was launched on a Molniya carrier rocket from the Plesetsk cosmodrome today for the purpose of guaranteeing use of the long-distance telephone and telegraphic radiocommunications system and the broadcasting of television programs to the Orbita network stations and for international cooperation.

The satellite has been put into a high elliptical orbit with an apogee of 40,610 km in the northern hemisphere and a perigee of 671 km in the southern hemisphere. The period of rotation of the satellite is 12 hours 15 minutes, and the inclination of the orbit is 63 degrees.

Communications sessions via the Molniya-3 satellite will be held in accordance with the planned schedule.

Supreme Soviet

Press Service Reports Parliament To Meet 26 Apr

LD2104162493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] The parliamentary press service reports that the sixth session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will resume work 26 April, and that there will be a joint sitting of the parliamentary chambers on 27 April.

Nationalities Head Expresses Concern Over Chechnya

LD2104142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—Under the conditions of a sharp confrontation between the president and parliament of the Republic of Chechnya any peacemaking steps adopted by the Russian Federation to resolve the conflict can be misunderstood, Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Federation House of Nationalities said today.

Abdulatipov was addressing a news conference held in the parliament today. He emphasised that the most important thing to be done is not to allow any bloodshed there.

"We have a keen interest in normality being restored in this republic," Ramazan Abdulatipov said. By overcoming the confrontation between branches of power in Chechnya "a basis will be formed for normalizing relations with bodies of Russia's federal authorities," he said.

Even the most vehement opponents of such normalization from among leaders of Chechnya are inclined to consider the question of the republic's joining the Federal Treaty, the chairman of the House of Nationalities noted.

"It seems to me, at present the idea of holding early elections for president as well as parliament is being worked out in the Republic of Chechnya," Abdulatipov said. According to him, this may become a basis for finding a peaceful way out of the prevailing crisis there.

Voronin Interviewed on Appointment, Referendum, Reforms

LD2204060593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1930 GMT on 21 April carries a 30-minute live or recorded interview with Yuriy Voronin, newly elected first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, by Aleksandr Radov on the "Interview with Prejudice" program.

In reply to various rumors as to what was behind his appointment, Voronin says: "I will give you an honest

answer. If Khasbulatov had not offered my candidacy, I would just have not been elected."

Some media regarded his appointment as a triumph of the nomenklatura forces that went underground two years ago and now were coming back. Radov reminded the viewers of the fact that Voronin was a member of the Communists of Russia faction. Voronin replies: "I have never gone underground. I was the chairman of the commission for budget, plans, taxes, and prices. I think that the people's deputies could see that, on the whole, I was giving all my energy to this work. Over this period, the commission did a lot. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why the people's deputies voted for me. On a large scale, the fact that I remained in the Communists of Russia faction was also perhaps a certain indicator. Why should I change my views since I, who know the Marxist theory to a certain degree and the theory of free thinking going back to ancient Rome, can see the directions in which society develops?"

Voronin says that "the social democratic principle is best for Russia at the present time. One should seek accord at present. Without accord, we will not be able to take Russia out of the cul-de-sac it is in at present. Without accord, we will be unable to resolve either the political or economic problems."

He continues: "My position is very clear. The president is the head of executive power at present. I think this is wrong. Who is Chernomyrdin then? I understand that, if the president were the head of state and the chairman of the Council of Ministers were the head of executive power, we would not have the present contradictions."

Asked about which presidency model—American or French—he preferred, Voronin replies: "I think the French model is more acceptable for us. Why? Because the people are used to the fact that we always had the chairman of the Council of Ministers."

He adds: "There is the head of government. The head of government should implement the program proposed by the president and approved by parliament. The whole cabinet is appointed on parliament's approval. I can see nothing wrong here."

As for the results of the referendum, Voronin says: "To say the least, it will not be of any positive significance to Russia. We start to rock the boat we all sit in."

Radov asks whether Voronin would agree that it was not the president's executive structure that was rocking the boat of the reforms but Khasbulatov, head of the legislative power, to a large degree. Voronin says: "i agree that, at present, everybody is rocking the boat: the president, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Constitutional Court. Everybody is 'contributing' to a certain degree, little by little."

Radov asks: "Do you believe that no accord is possible between them?"

Voronin says: "Why? It is a compatible team." He says he is in favor of preserving the soviets: "We are saying that there is power, and it belongs to the people. There are also branches of power. I can see nothing wrong in the fact that one of the branches of power can be called the soviets."

As for the economic reforms, Voronin says: "On a large scale, no economic reforms have been implemented here yet. I can say this with full responsibility."

When Radov comments that perhaps the parliament was to blame for this, due to the fact that it did not perform its legislative functions properly and did not pass appropriate laws to make the implementation of the reforms possible, Voronin disagrees: "The government, which should draw up laws and put them forward to the Supreme Soviet, unfortunately is lagging behind with its legislative initiative." He points out that the 5th Congress of People's Deputies granted additional powers to the president and "he became the head of government", implying that the president was to blame as well.

Parliament Responds to IZVESTIYA Story on Weapons

LD2304010493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The last report in our bulletin came from the parliament's press service. The statement issued by the press service of the parliament says that there was an article in the 23 April issue of the newspaper IZVESTIYA that said that personal weapons are being issued to the deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet. In connection with this, the press service of the parliament reports that certain people's deputies have indeed submitted their requests for personal weapons to be issued to them. These requests were sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in accordance with the established procedure. This is where the whole episode regarding personal weapons has ended, says the statement issued by the press service of the Supreme Soviet.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Continues Working Visit to Udmurtia

LD2204115793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Vadim Dynin from Izhevsk]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's visit here was originally scheduled for 21 April but the president's plans were changed and it was only this morning that his plane landed at Izhevsk airport. The itinerary of the presidential motorcade has also been changed. By the time this report goes out, Boris Yeltsin will have looked around an exhibition of products made by Udmurt enterprises and begun a conference with industrial executives. The exhibition and conference are being held at

the state-owned Izhmash works, the flagship of the republic's military-industrial sector.

At the airport Boris Yeltsin noted that his visit was a working one. His main objective is to discuss the progress of conversion and to outline future moves in this area.

It has emerged that no documents affecting the republic's interests will be signed during the visit. Udmurtia leaders had been hoping that the president would offer them support by allocating a regional quota of almost 5 million tonnes of oil for sales. Enterprises in the military-industrial sector would have been able to spend the hard currency proceeds on establishing the ability to produce consumer goods. After trying out weapons made in Izhevsk, Boris Yeltsin did, however, promise to help directors of Udmurtia's defense sector with the allocation of licenses for the export of military equipment manufactured in Udmurtia.

After visiting Izhmash, Boris Yeltsin will head for the village of Yakshur, not far from Izhevsk. At the village he will meet tractor drivers from the Put Ilyicha collective farm and call on a peasant family.

Unfortunately, because of the limited time available, the president will not visit the Chaykovskiy House museum in the town of Votkinsk, where he had planned to meet Udmurtia intellectuals. The last event on the agenda of Boris Yeltsin's visit is a conference with republic leaders at the Udmurtia parliament.

Statement at Izhevsk Airport

LD2204140493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Feliks Simonov from Izhevsk airport; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The president told journalists that this was a business trip, pure and simple.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The visit was planned in advance. The Udmurt Republic is a fairly unusual republic. It is the most militarized of all our Russian republics. The defense sector accounts for two-thirds of its industrial potential. Fifty directors of defense enterprises are going to meet here. Not all of them are from Udmurtia; many are from Moscow. Leading designers and so on will be at the meeting. We will seek an overall solution to conversion problems in our country.

After the meeting at Izhmash I will visit a village. We will then take stock of the results. [end recording]

Notes Options Regarding Referendum

LD2204141293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] If Russia's citizens give the president a vote of confidence at the referendum but vote against a parliamentary election, the Russian president will be obliged to adopt a number of harsh measures. Boris Yeltsin announced this at Izhevsk airport.

He said he would act more aggressively in all areas. The president noted that if he wins a big victory, he will opt for one set of measures. If the victory margin is narrow, he will opt for another course of action. Yeltsin also said that he would try to unite everybody, with the exception of left-wing and right-wing extremists. He himself plans to remain in the center, or slightly left of center. Boris Yeltsin will announce the details of these measures on 26th April.

But Yeltsin's appeal to the scientific community has already made it clear that the government and the president are preparing national programs for the country's development. These include plans for the development of the power sector, communications, and space research. Natural and humanitarian sciences will also receive support.

Defense Enterprises Not To Be Privatized

LD2204153693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Izhevsk April 22 TASS—Defence enterprises in Russia should not be privatised, it was decided at a closed-door meeting of heads of 50 military enterprises with President Boris Yeltsin at the "Izhmash" plant in Udmurtia on Thursday, according to presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov.

He told TASS the meeting focused on oil production in Udmurtia which amounts to 10 million tonnes a year. Conversion problems were also on the agenda. Local defence enterprises are capable of producing civilian goods worth one billion roubles a year, according to the spokesman.

Commentary Examines Visit

LD2204221093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] As we have already reported, on 22 February President Boris Yeltsin paid a one-day working visit to Izhevsk, the capital of Udmurtia. Here is a commentary by our special correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov.

[Osipov] What was the main characteristic of this visit to the capital of Russia's most militarized republic—politics or economics? I think that by coming to one of the centers of the military-industrial complex, the president decided to look around and see how his economic policy—which should be implemented in the conversion of military production—is being carried out.

What the president was shown in Izhevsk caused Boris Yeltsin to speak at the end of his visit about the priceless technical and design potential of the defense workers. This potential and, more importantly, specific articles and goods, makes it possible to renounce the export [as heard] of what Udmurtia's works produce. However, the inception of market relations has badly affected the defense industry enterprises. State support is needed in order to maintain production and with it the scientific-technical potential. General designer Genrykh Novozhilov and automatic weapons creator Mikhail Kalashnikov note that it is essential to set up joint stock companies or firms to sell armaments. In this way a powerful source of currency revenues would come into operation. Yeltsin agrees with this and notes that 58 countries have expressed a desire to acquire Russian combat equipment.

A second source of support will be the allocation of some of the U.S. credits, totalling $250 million, specially for the development of Udmurtia. A special decision of the Council of Ministers will be adopted on the development of the Izhevsk machinebuilding works, which will increase its output of cars, motor cycles, agricultural and medical equipment, and consumer goods. The Russian president promised to examine the question of raising the wages of workers in defense enterprises. There is speculation that the government's views about the problems of conversion could change.

Taking this into account one can also speak about the purely political importance of Yeltsin's visit to Izhevsk. As the president was bidding farewell to the republic's leadership, he noted that it seems to him that the corps of directors is in favor. That is, in favor of continuing the socio-economic policy of the present government.

Answers Journalists' Questions

PM2204173793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 93 Single Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Boris Yeltsin Pledges Support for Defense Enterprises During Conversion"]

[Excerpts] On 22 April Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin visited the city of Izhevsk. This is his last trip before the referendum, and, of course, the questions put by journalists meeting him at the local airport were devoted to this topical theme.

On the decision of the Constitutional Court on the procedure for counting the votes in the referendum, B. Yeltsin remarked: "The Constitutional Court decided as it was bound to decide. Otherwise the International Court would have decided, otherwise we ourselves would have decided" ["Konstitutsionnyy sud reshil tak, kak i dolzhen byl reshit. Inache reshal by Mezhdunarodnyy sud, inache by reshali my sami"]. To the question what if he receives the confidence of Russians, but the answer is "no" to reelections of deputies, the president said:

"I would not like to jump ahead. Of course, it is necessary to adopt firm, tough measures—definitely not involving the use of automatic weapons, as some people are saying in order to sow panic."

Concerning the statement of the speaker of parliament on the possibility of Congress being convened 26 April, the president said: "I do not understand why it is being convened urgently." [passage omitted]

The president's familiarization with the problems and achievements of Udmurtia's defense workers—and they do virtually everything for the Army here, aside from shipbuilding—began at an exhibition of consumer goods organized at the "Izhmash" plant. While the tour was continuing, IZVESTIYA's correspondent managed to find out one or two more details about projects being proposed in the framework of conversion.

Here is what G. Novozhilov, general designer of the S. Ilyushin aviation complex, told me: "You have already seen the model of the new Russian-U.S. plane, the Il-96M. We are designing other planes too, capable of competing with the Boeings and the McDonnell-Douglases which are already penetrating the Russian market. We have come here to discuss measures to safeguard and expand the Russian aviation industry. Of course, money is needed for conversion, and this will also be discussed at the meeting."

Academician A. Savin of the former Aviaprom [Aircraft industry], leader of the "Kometa" Central Science and Production Association, says that his enterprise specializes in creating strategic satellite information systems and also in transmitting information: "Our systems are capable of ensuring efficient links between, for example, all the banking systems in Russia and the whole business world. They surpass similar systems designed in Western countries. Hence we already have an offer to fund various projects with the participation of Western capital. We are counting on the support of the president and the government."

According to information from the Expert Council, a government decree on granting credits is now being prepared. The figure of 20 billion rubles is being mooted.

At the "Izhmash" exhibition the president was shown top-class products—from various models of automobiles and all manner of consumer technology to excellent firearms.

The president is inclined to support Udmurtia's defense workers.

In the afternoon he visited the village of Yakshur, and in the evening he had a final meeting with the leadership of the republic and leaders of industrial enterprises.

Yeltsin Stresses Important Aspects of Referendum

LD2204203793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1901 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Yekaterinburg, 22 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—"Despite the four questions put forward in the referendum, the referendum must answer one question: Will the transformations in Russia continue; will we finally receive tangible results for every family, every region, or will everything for which we suffered last year be thrown away; and will Russia turn back, not noticing that the passing point is already close," Boris Yeltsin stated in an interview to Sverdlvosk television, broadcast this evening. In the opinion of the Russian president, there is one further important aspect of the referendum: to determine "who the citizens of Russia are with today—with the president, the Government, and the deputies who support the reform course and the strengthening of stability and order, or with the majority of the congress, which has done everything in order to halt the transformations."

More on Grachev Tour of Far East Facilities

PM2204120793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Defense Minister on Russkiy Island"]

[Text] Vladivostok—Army General P. Grachev, Russia's minister of defense, is spending five days, 19 through 23 April, on an official trip to units and subunits of the Pacific Fleet and the Far Eastern, Transbaykal, Siberian, and Urals Military Districts.

In an interview with IZVESTIYA's military observer, Grachev said that his trip does not pursue political ends and is not linked to the upcoming referendum—it had been planned in advance, before such a date as 25 April had come up. Nevertheless, he has brought army and navy servicemen a kind of prefestival gift.

At the very first stop on his tour—Vladivostok—the minister announced to naval seamen that a Russian Government decree had increased the pay of officers and ensigns, as well as working people in budget-funded sectors, by 90 percent as of 1 April, and they will also receive 100-200 percent more for their military rank.

In addition, an effective program for the construction of housing for Pacific Fleet sailors has been prepared. There are now approximately 3,300 families of officers without apartments here. A further 5,000 families are in need of better housing conditions.

In 1993 construction workers intend to hand over 2,400 apartments to new occupants, and a similar number next year. Approximately 1,000 Chinese workers, who will work on Kamchatka and in Maritime Kray, are participating in their construction. IZVESTIYA's observer has learned that in return for their labor the Chinese will secure the right to take away scrap metal from ships sunk off the coasts of the Far East. Here there is approximately 65,000 tonnes. The rest they will get in timber.

Grachev has also visited Russkiy Island, where a tragedy occurred in the radio engineering school two months ago, which claimed the lives of four young sailors who died of dystrophy. Even though a great deal on the island has changed for the better, the minister is still dissatisfied with the work done. The possibility of a new outbreak of infectious disease there has not been ruled out, and he ordered that the school be closed for a month, that the necessary medical and organizational measures be carried out in it, and that a new detachment of young reinforcements be accepted only after proper order has been instilled there.

The defense minister told IZVESTIYA's reviewer that no one will control the expression of the servicemen's will in the referendum. Everyone will vote the way he wants to. As regards himself, he will reply with four "yeses" to all the referendum questions.

Views Far East, Black Sea Problems

PM2204134993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts and Vladimir Shirokov: "Defense Minister Begins Tour of Garrisons With Visit to Russkiy Island"]

[Text] Yesterday's edition of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported that Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, had begun a tour of garrisons of the Far East, Transbaykal, Siberian, and Urals Military Districts as well as the Pacific Fleet. His first stopover was in Vladivostok, where he arrived 20 April.

The defense minister spoke about the program for his visit to the Pacific Fleet and told your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents that several important elements must be pointed out there. The first being a study of the state of units' and ships' combat readiness and military discipline, and the second being help for Vice Admiral Georgiy Gurinov, newly appointed commander of the Pacific Fleet, in resolving cadre issues. Army Gen. Pavel Grachev also decided to focus attention on resolving servicemen's social problems and, consequently, to visit the training detachment on Russkiy Island that recently suffered a tragedy involving young seamen.

He set out for there from Vladivostok aboard a fast assault craft in the morning. The defense minister met with the command of the radiotechnical school and visited the company in which the seamen who had died from sickness and exhaustion had served. Although the command of the training detachment has now carried out some work here to eliminate the shortcomings, Pavel Grachev was critical of the current state of affairs too. He had a serious and principled discussion with Captain First Rank Valeriy Simovich, the radiotechnical school's new commander. The minister said, in particular, that

the main causes of the tragedy have still not been removed. He drew that conclusion after numerous individual conversations with the radiotechnical school's seamen and petty officers. I once again have to draw my conclusions following everything I have seen, the minister remarked, since I saw for myself that there is still misrepresentation and complacency here. After studying the situation at the radiotechnical school, he decided to speed up the graduation of students, close the unit for a month for preventive work, concentrate all commanders' efforts on setting the military camp fully to rights, and only then to authorize further training of students.

Following his return to Vladivostok Pavel Grachev met with the crew of the large ASW ship Admiral Vinogradov, which was quite recently on combat service in the Persian Gulf as part of the multinational forces. The results of the minister's stay in Vladivostok were summed up on the evening of 20 April during a meeting with garrison officers, and the army general plans to fly to Khabarovsk on the morning of 21 April.

The defense minister's working trip comes on the eve of the referendum, and many local journalists are linking these two events. We therefore asked the minister to clarify the situation. He said that his present trip is in no way connected with the coming referendum. It was planned before anyone knew about the referendum. This is a planned trip, the main purpose of which is to study the situation within the troops and the fleet. The need for this is obvious, the minister said, particularly for the Pacific Fleet.

Pavel Grachev singled out three main problems facing the fleet—ship repair, material and technical supply, and manning levels. The minister believes that if emergency steps are not taken on all these matters the fleet may indeed find itself in a very tricky position. A concrete plan of action was outlined on all three points.

The minister also said that there had recently been attempts by certain foreign mass media to accuse the Pacific Fleet of contaminating the ocean with nuclear waste. This problem had also been discussed with the command of the fleet. I can say just one thing now, he said: that Russia has made provision for the creation of two burial facilities for submarines' nuclear reactors—one in the east, the other in the north. They will not pose any danger to the world's oceans.

Journalists took the opportunity to ask Pavel Grachev to voice his opinion on the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, particularly in connection with the Ukrainian defense minister's recent statements (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA covered this situation in detail last week).

Russia's stance in connection with the new developments remains the same, Pavel Grachev said. If the Black Sea Fleet is divided up, it must not only be a question of sharing out warships and auxiliary vessels, but also the fleet's entire surface infrastructure, and this applies to naval aviation too. That is our primary principled stance, the minister stressed.

In his view, the next most important stance boils down to the fact that Russia finds it hard to cede to the demands for the Black Sea Fleet's main base to be moved from Sevastopol. Constructive joint discussion of the problem is needed. We must secure mutual understanding, difficult as it may seem. Russia cannot move the Black Sea Fleet's main base in the near future owing to a whole range of technical and material problems. That is obvious, and we will insist, Pavel Grachev commented, on intergovernmental agreements being reached for Russia and Ukraine to have a single naval base in Sevastopol.

Calls For Action Against Draft Dodgers

LD2204094793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0923 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Andrey Naryzhkin]

[Text] Chita (Siberia) April 22 TASS—"We shall insistently request the national leadership to adopt unpopular measures: to repeal some types of deferments and to raise responsibility for draft dodging," Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said on Thursday [22 April] at a meeting with the personnel of the 214th Training Centre of the Transbaykal Military District.

"This measure is prompted by the fact that only 20-25 conscripts out of 100 now join the Armed Forces," the minister said.

The chronical shortage of privates and non-commissioned officers results in lower combat preparedness of the Army and Navy and creates conditions for breakdowns, disasters and violations of military discipline.

In the minister's opinion, it is expedient to raise the conscription age from 18 to 21. Both the Army and soldiers will benefit by this, he added.

"We argue for general military conscription at all government levels," Grachev stressed. "The position of the Russian Defence Ministry is that each young Russion citizen, provided he is healthy and has no deferment, should be called up to the Army or Navy before he is 25 and serve 18 or 12 months, depending on his educational qualifications."

Speaking to officers of the Chita garrison, the minister underlined that there would be no drastic cut in Armed Forces "even if we are unable to slash their numerical strength to the planned 1.5-million level by 1995".

"If it is necessary, I shall request the Russian parliament to extend the deadline by 12 or 18 months," he noted.

"The recruitment of servicemen by contract should not turn into another silly campaign," Grachev continued.

Some 1,600 people now serve by contract in the Transbaykal Military District, which does not radically resolve the problem of manning units.

He pointed to the replacement of soldiers' posts with waged and salaried workers as an important reserve in this sphere. This measure would make it possible to fill up over 13 per cent of soldiers' posts in the Transbaykal Military District alone.

Announces Defense Cuts, Raises

LD2204152493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent A. Abonosimova from Vladivostok; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] From Khabarovsk Pavel Grachev has gone on to the Transbaykal and Siberian Districts. From all that has been said by the minister of defense in the Far East, one can pick out three main elements. First, there will not be disastrous cuts in the Army. The minister does not see any problem in the Army being made up of more than 1.0 million to 1.5 million until 1995. People and their fates are more important than haste.

Second, 50,000 rubles per year for a private serving on a contract basis is quite attractive; this is being cited as a way to bridge transition from talk about a professional army to its formation. The minister of defense also pleased officers and men doing additional service with this: the long awaited increase in their monetary wages by 2.3 times, additional tax concessions, and 39 billion rubles to provide for housing for Russian troops. Pavel Grachev only spent a few hours in Khabarovsk visiting the 10th Motorized Rifle Division.

[Begin recording] [Abonosimova] Pavel Sergeyevich, are you leaving the Far East with an easy mind?

[Grachev] I won't say that it is with an easy mind. I have a dual impression. Regarding what we have seen now in this regiment, in this division, I am pleased about that. If one is to judge from what I saw on the Pacific Fleet and especially in the training of subunits on Russkiy Island, then I am not pleased about that. I was not completely satisfied about the situation there. There is a lot of work to be done. We can see the shortcomings. We shall get rid of them in practice. [end recording]

Further on Transbaykal Visit

PM2304094193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts and Aleksandr Davidyuk: "Unpopular Draft Measures Inevitable"]

[Text] After his work in Khabarovsk Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Defense Minister, arrived in the Transbaykal Military District. Incidentally, leaders of the military department last visited Transbaykal 12 years ago, in 1981.

The defense minister familiarized himself in detail with the state of affairs in the Transbaykal Military District and heard reports from Colonel General Valeriy Tretyakov, commander of the district, and other officials and visited the district training center near Chita. The problems which now perturb the district command are in many ways similar to those which had already been reported to the defense minister in the Far East Military District. But it was emphasized that the district also has its own features. In particular Army General Pavel Grachev paid a great deal of attention to the question of fully staffing units and subunits with soldiers and sergeants.

"We will urgently ask the country's leadership to embark on unpopular measures—to repeal some types of deferment, to increase the liability for avoiding military service," Army General Pavel Grachev announced at a meeting with the training center personnel. This has been caused primarily by the fact that today of every 100 draftees only 20-25 join the troops. The chronic shortage of privates and sergeants is reducing the combat readiness of the Army and Navy and creating preconditions for accidents, catastrophes, and violations of military discipline. In the minister's opinion it is expedient to raise the draft age from 18 to 21.

In addition there was talk of other ways of emerging from the existing troop staffing situation. The defense minister supported the proposal from Colonel General Valeriy Tretyakov, commander of the Transbaykal Military District, to fill a number of vacant soldier posts with workers and employees.

Addressing the officers and generals of the Chita Garrison, the defense minister stressed that there will be not overwhelming reduction of the armed forces, even if in 1995 we are unable to reduce their numerical strength to the planned level of 1.5 million. If necessary, he noted, I shall ask the Supreme Soviet to extent the deadline allowed us by 12-18 months.

Army General Pavel Grachev congratulated Aleksandr Yelekhin on receiving the rank of lieutenant general and presented shoulder boards to Major Generals Viktor Kuznetsov, Yevgeniy Abrashin, and Vladimir Korpusov.

Yesterday the Russian Federation defense minister left Chita for Novosibirsk.

Arrives in Novosibirsk

LD2204132193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1157 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 22 Apr—Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, arrived in Novosibirsk today. He listened to a report by the commander of the Urals military district in the afternoon.

Tomorrow Pavel Grachev intends to visit a combat engineer brigade, which was pulled out of Germany last year, and listen to the commandment of the Volga and Siberian military districts summing up the work for studying the state of combat readiness of all districts of the Russian Armed Forces' groups of forces and fleets which has lasted for nearly six months. The Defense Ministry leadership is actively using its findings in implementing military reform.

Considers Draft 'Main Problem'

LD2304092193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0710 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Novosibirsk April 23 TASS—Army draft is the main problem for the Russian Defence Ministry as many youngsters are dodging it, according to Defence Minister Pavel Grachev.

"It is the most complicated, the most painful problem which is to be solved quickly and before autumn", he told TASS on Friday while visiting an Army brigade near Novosibirsk.

The minister said it is necessary to cancel draft deferment for graduate students and adopt a law on military duties to solve the problem. "If the Defence Ministry and me personally succeed to make the parliament, the president, the government revise the issues connected with the draft deferment for those who graduated from higher educational establishments, if the law on general military duties begins to work, then there will remain practically no problems in the Armed Forces", he stressed.

Two thirds of the defence budget will be used to solve social problems of the military, according to the minister, who added that, most evidently, the policy will continue until 1996.

The latest government resolution increasing allowances for soldiers and wages for officers helped a lot to eliminate financial problems of the military, however, two other major tasks remain: housing and the draft, according to Grachev.

Rejects Prosecutor General's Allegations

LD2304082793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Novosibirsk April 23 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev refuted today the report of the information and public relations centre of the prosecutor-general's office, which says that new facts have allegedly emerged about the abuse of office by the command of the Western Army Group, senior officials of the Defence Ministry and personally the defence minister during the marketing of the movable and immovable property of the Army.

"The facts of the abuse of office, mentioned in the report, are well known. Moreover, they were uncovered with the direct participation of the command of the Western Army Group and senior officials of the Defence Ministry. Criminal proceedings were instituted on those cases according to the established procedure. The cases are being investigated," Grachev told ITAR-TASS today. "Any new facts, which are mentioned in the report, are just out of the question," Grachev stressed.

"I regard this information, which is obviously of a speculative character, as a political step aimed at discrediting the government structures, the management of the Russian Ministry of Defence and personally the defence minister on the eve of the referendum," Grachev pointed out.

Chechen Parliament Leader Calls For Referendum

LD2204110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—"The difficult situation in Groznyy could be resolved by peaceful means—through the creation of a conciliation commission of representatives of both those supporting and opposing Dzhokhar Dudayev," said Husayn Akhmadov, chairman of the Chechen parliament, in an exclusive telephone interview with ITAR-TASS today. He said "the next step has to be a referendum, which could tentatively be held no later than 5 June." Parliament is proposing to put four questions on the referendum: on confidence in President Dzhokhar Dudayev, on confidence in parliament, whether re-elections are needed for both branches of power, and whether it is advisable to have the institution of the presidency in Chechnya.

So far no decision has been made on the timing of the referendum because of the lack of a quorum—some of the deputies have given up their powers under the influence of the meetings and some are taking part in the meetings themselves, Akhmadov explained.

Husayn Akhmadov refuted reports that recent events in Chechnya had been inspired by Moscow, by the speaker of the Russian parliament and those surrounding him. The organizers of the disorder in Groznyy, in Akhmadov's opinion, are in Groznyy.

To Hold Referendum 5 Jun

LD2204170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Groznyy April 22 TASS—The rebel Chechen Republic will hold a referendum on June 5, the CHECHENPRESS news agency reported on Thursday [22 April] quoting a parliamentary decision.

Three questions to be answered are: Does the Chechen Republic need the post of the president? Do you trust the president of the Chechen Republic? Do you trust the parliament of the Chechen Republic?

Legislators decided to hold early elections in the republic in six weeks after the referendum depending on its results.

Chechen Army Proclaims Neutrality

LD2204145293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 22 Apr—The command of the republican Armed Forces declared today that regular units of the Chechen Army are completely neutral towards the events taking place in Groznyy. The appeal issued to citizens and the republican parliament by the headquarters of the Chechen Armed Forces says that soldiers are guarding military installations and are not taking part in street rallies.

Noting that "attempts are being made to create a confrontation between the new Army and the Chechen people and to make the Army an appendage of the National Guard," the leadership of the Chechen Armed Forces declared that the Army "will not take any part in actions against the state authorities, against political movements, or against its own people."

The leadership of the Chechen Armed Forces urged fellow citizens to be vigilant and prudent.

People Called Upon To Prevent Civil War

LD2204162393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1547 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy April 22 TASS—Chechnya's Army units remain neutral in the conflict which flared up in the Chechen capital of Groznyy, the republic's Army Command said on Thursday [22 April]. The Chechen Armed Forces Headquarters addressed the citizens and parliament, stressing that the servicemen are just guarding military installations and keep away from the street turmoil.

Pointing to "some attempts at counterposing the nascent Army to the Chechen people and turn it into an appendix of the National Guard", the Chechen Army Command pledged the troops would not allow to involve themselves "in any actions aimed against the state power bodies, political movements or the republic's people".

Chechen military leaders called upon their compatriots to remain vigilant and cool-headed.

Heads of Russian soviets of people's deputies also urged the Chechen people and authorities to prevent a possible civil war in the republic. At their meeting in the central Russian town of Voronezh, they described the dissolvement of the Chechen Parliament by President Dzhokhar Dudayev as "an attempt to usurp power, thereby fully abandoning constitutional laws".

"Economic and ethnic problems cannot be solved by using force", reads the appeal adopted at the meeting and released by the Russian Parliamentary Press Service on Thursday. "We need to patiently search for mutually acceptable decisions at the negotiating table, we need a peaceful and legal solution to the problems", says the appeal.

On Friday, the National Congress of the Chechen People will meet in a session in Groznyy to discuss the aggravating political situation in the republic and to map out possible ways out of the crisis fraught with unpredictable consequences for Chechnya.

Talks Ease Tension Between Chechens, Rostov Cossacks

PM2204141593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 4

[Marlen Kryukov report under "Situation" rubric: "Word Mightier Than Sword"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—A delegation from the Chechen Republic has been on the Don, building bridges of friendship. The once strong ties have recently vanished. Chechens have found it uncomfortable to live in certain rayons of Rostov Oblast. Firebrands have been in evidence, and nationalist attacks have increased in frequency.

A conflict which occurred recently was particularly severe. A village gathering in Tyulpanov, a village in Zavetinskiy Rayon, demanded the expulsion of Chechen families from the "Runo" State Farm. There were thieves and hooligans among the Chechens. Measures had not been taken against them in the past.

Passions were running high. Cossacks came to the villagers' aid. In this situation militiamen showed their very best side. They also proved to be good diplomats. Their talks with the Cossacks ended with the majority of them going back. The village was visited by V. Anpilogov, deputy head of the oblast administration; M. Gaychuk, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet; M. Fetisov, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration; Yu. Kuznetsov, chief of the Security Ministry Administration; and A. Posidelov, oblast prosecutor. I deliberately give their posts so as to make it clear that the problem was not brushed aside at the highest level. The numerous talks were not for nothing. The conflict was slowly exitinguished.

Later, at a news conference, Fetisov would confirm his talks with statistics:

"Of 58 crimes committed on the territory of Zavetinskiy Rayon, Chechens committed just two. But in conversations with residents we continually heard: Chechens kill. Starting in 1976, there has not been a single murder committed in the rayon by Chechens."

This was the situation when a delegation from Chechnya arrived in the oblast. It visited Zavetinskiy Rayon and made a good contribution to finally settling the conflict. Together they decided how to live in the future. In the past Zavetinskiy Rayon had been on really friendly terms with the Chechen Republic's Urus-Martanovskiy Rayon. They agreed to resume these ties. They found a common language with the Cossack leaders. As regards the Chechens, they frankly said: Yes, criminals appear among us as well. But it is necessary to take proceedings against them and try them. Crime does not have a nationality.

In this connection it is appropriate to say the following. There is an urgent need to arrange relations between the law-enforcement organs of the Don and Chechnya. Many cases have been noted where Chechens, having committed a crime, go into hiding in Chechnya. But, you know, there is a very old rule on the Don: "There is no extradition from the Don."

The meetings on the Don resulted in a protocol of intent between the government of the Chechen Republic and the administration of Rostov Oblast. These intentions are good. There is no need to whet the dagger and brandish the sword.

Chernomyrdin Arrives in Kaluga, Cited on Referendum

LD2304090893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0741 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Solyanikov]

[Text] Kaluga, 23 Apr—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, who arrived in Kaluga on a one-day visit today, said he would like to familiarize himself with the situation in Kaluga Oblast and the progress of spring sowing. As there are only two days left before the all-Russian referendum, he told an ITAR-TASS correspondent, this topic is likely to be touched upon with local residents. "It is important for us now that everybody comes to the referendum, that the people give their view on what they want, who they support, and how," he stressed. The head of the cabinet added that certain political forces hope that the people will not turn up at the polling stations. "The country is at a special stage today; its further development will depend on what the people will say. It is a question not of personalities but of the state of affairs in the country," the prime minister said.

Mordovian President Defies Eviction, Fires New Minister

MK2204091893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Mordovia"]

[Text] Yesterday Mordovian Supreme Soviet Chairman Nikolay Biryukov and Valeriy Shvetsov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, instructed Mordovian President Vasiliy Guslyannikov to leave his apartments.

The attempted eviction, however, was unsuccessful. It has been learned from information from a source close to the Mordovian president that Guslyannikov contacted Russian Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin by telephone and them handed the receiver to Biryukov. After the conversation the Mordovian speaker of parliament and Council of Ministers chairman left.

In an edict yesterday Mordovian President Guslyannikov relieved a number of ministers of their posts, including Finance Minister Kedrov and Press Minister Yezhov, who only the previous day had been appointed to this post.

North Ossetia-Ingushetia Conflict Intensifies

LD2204114893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1010 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 22 Apr—Today a report received by the duty unit of the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs said at about 0100 unknown persons entered the republic's civil defense headquarters, a watchman was wounded, and 16 Kalashnikov assault rifles and a large number of cartridges were stolen. According to assessments of the military, the crime situation in the state of emergency zone on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia is not improving. Overnight houses of local residents were fired upon in the settlement of Chermen in Prigorodnyy rayon, fortunately no one was killed. Yesterday in the town of Alagir (North Ossetia), staff of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs detained an Ossetian, a resident of Nalchik. A total of 12 Kalashnikov assault rifles were confiscated which turned out that they were stolen from a military unit near Vologda.

N. Caucasus Attitudes 'Mixed' Toward Russian Troops

PM2104092193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report from North Caucasus by Aleksandr Ostrovskiy and Mikhail Zverev; attributed to "VoyenTV"]

[Text] [Announcer] A large group of officers and generals from the Russian Ministry of Defense has concluded an inspection of the North Caucasus Military District.

[Ye. Vysotskiy, Main Cadres Directorate chief] The task we set ourselves was to look into the issue of manpower acquisition at officer level. We are particularly concerned about understaffing at junior officer level.

[Ostrovskiy] The example of the military subunits which are guarding the civilian airfield in the Cossack village of Sleptsovskaya in Ingushetia makes it possible to see clearly that military cadres, including the first soldiers serving under contract, are leaving the Army not just because of material problems.

[A. Telgo, battalion deputy chief of staff] On the whole, the attitude of the local people, the local population, toward us, toward the presence of our troops here, is mixed.

The intelligentsia, the people with common sense, both among the Chechens and the Ingush living in this area, want the troops to stay here to the end, so that illegal formations, local tribes and clans do not plunder what is left of the republic. But the ordinary people, I mean workers and peasants, simple people, have been misled. They regard us as occupation forces and tell us to clear off.

[Ostrovskiy] In your view, how long will you have to stay here?

[Soldier] A long time, I think. The problems which have surfaced here have been building up over a long time, not just a year or two or even 10 years. And now it will take as long again to resolve them. Especially since, from what I gather, the political leadership of our country is not really taking part in resolving them.

Kalmyk President Restructures Security Ministry

LD2204221793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Kalmykiya's President Kirsan Alyumzhinov yesterday signed a decree on abolishing the Ministry of State Security. According to the decree, the Ministry is to be transformed into the Committee for National Security in connection with changes in the administrative and economic structure of Kalmykiya.

Shumeyko Consults Regional Leaders on Referendum

PM2304080793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Apr 93 p 1

[Vladimir Khrustov report: "Almost 70 Million Russians Will Take Part in Referendum"]

[Text] A telephone conference devoted to the preparations for the forthcoming referendum was held 22 April by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the government commission for the referendum. Taking part in the conference were leaders of the republics making up the Russian Federation, heads of kray and oblast administrations, the president's representatives at local level, chairmen of electoral commissions, and soviet leaders.

Russia's regions are prepared for the referendum, and 60-70 percent of Russian citizens intend to take part in the vote—that was the main result of the conference.

Cheboksary. Averyan Viktorov, chairman of the Chuvash Council of Ministers, reported that the situation in the region is stable. Conferences have been held on preparations for the referendum with ministry and department leaders and with rayon administration heads. According to preliminary estimates, more than 60 percent of the republic's inhabitants will be turning out to vote.

Orenburg. All is ready for the nationwide referendum, Vladimir Yelagin, head of the oblast administration, reported.

Chita. We are ready to hold the referendum, but the situation in the region is complex, Boris Ivanov, head of the oblast administration, admitted. Some 240 fires were recorded in the oblast today, but firefighting has been complicated by a catastrophic fuel shortage. More than 500 vehicles allocated to provide backup to polling places (and there are more than 1,000 of them) have no gasoline either. Because of this, the result of the vote could be delayed indefinitely.

Similar worrying information about the fuel shortage was heard from Kamchatka. No kerosene tanker is expected before 5 May, and if the military do not share their supplies nobody will be able to fly out to Moscow, for instance. The last aircraft to the capital left on the 21st, and the rest are laid up without fuel.

Vladimir Shumeyko promised to help distressed regions with reserves from the State Committee for Emergency Situations.

Saransk. Alarming information was reported by Mordovian President Vasiliy Guslyannikov. An attempt was made yesterday to evict me from my office, he reported. The presidential administration accounts have been seized...

You are the legally and popularly elected president, V. Shumeyko told him. Hang on...

Representatives of a number of regions—Kaluga, in particular—reported the appearance of provocative leaflets calling on behalf of various democratic organizations for reprisals against communists. Internal affairs organs are investigating every case of the appearance of such leaflets, V. Shumeyko noted.

Readiness to hold the referendum was reported by Kemerovo, Barnaul, Kazan, Moscow, Ufa, Vladivostok, Chelyabinsk, Yoshkar-Ola, Salekhard, Murmansk, Blagoveshchensk...

As Vladimir Shumeyko stressed in summing up the results of the telephone conference, "the essence of the conference was to check that people were ready for the job. As you have heard, not a single word was said about who will be voting for what and how. The aim of our government commission is to create conditions in the Federation whereby every Russian and every citizen can express their views absolutely calmly."

At this ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent's request, Vladimir Shumeyko cited as an example the harmonious joint work done by a number of regions to prepare for the referendum—this applies to Nizhniy Novgorod, Barnaul, and many other oblasts.

There is something else that is worrying, V. Shumeyko stressed. When I asked even one administration head to say if he had been invited to a similar telephone conference held recently by the Supreme Soviet, not a single one did so. Even though you have heard that soviet chairmen and their deputies took part in our conference today. We are not hiding anything and are preparing for the referendum strictly in accordance with the law. The question arises as to why, when a similar telephone conference was held with soviet chairmen by the Supreme Soviet, no administration heads were invited? This is incomprehensible, because the two branches of power should work together. All the more so when it is a question of such an important issue as a referendum.

Poll 'Violations' Raise Questions About Referendum

PM2204110993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[German Galkin report: "Results of 25 April Referendum May Be Falsified"]

[Text] Elections have been held in Chelyabinsk for a Russian Federation people's deputy for the 82d national-territorial electoral district. The vacanacy arose back in 1992 in connection with the death of Russian People's Deputy Aleksey Litovchenko, former CPSU obkom [oblast committee] first secretary. All the indications are that antireformist forces in Chelyabinsk, which have grouped around the oblast soviet, are planning to push through a "worthy replacement" for Litovchenko at the elections, not even balking at juggling the results of the ballot.

The number of violations exceeds any possible assumptions. It has turned out in particular that in polling places in the city of Satka NOT ONE SINGLE figure cited in the consolidated lists coincides with the figures in the returns from the polling places. In the returns from over 100 polling places, things have been amended or erased, and in a number of cases there is an imbalance between the ballots issued and those returned. There was a case of one hand signing for several voters. And the following fact was also disclosed: The number of ballots discovered in the ballot boxes was greater than the number of ballots which the voters and members of ward commissions had signed for. And in some places the ballots were issued not to the voters themselves, but to other people.

The situation was exacerbated by a report to the effect that V. Ustyuzhanin, chairman of the district electoral commission, signed a blank version of the form the commission uses for its report on the results of the ballot, although these results had not been confirmed by the commission at the time he signed it because of the listed violations; and he did this without telling the members of the commission.

Like a whole range of other violations, all this makes you think that it had been intended that the members of the commission were to assume the role of statisticians from the very outset. Particularly since the final calculations were made WITHOUT the participation of the members of the commission by the same workers in the oblast soviet apparatus.

In connection with the Chelyabinsk situation, let us ask ourselves: What can we expect at the 25 April all-Russian referendum? How will the results be added up if the ballot and its results at the referendum are controlled by the same apparatus?

Vladivostok 'Awash' With Forged Ballots

LD2104172493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference on preparations for the referendum in Maritime kray was held in Vladivostok today. It was given by Russian people's deputies from the kray who regard themselves as opponents of the president.

[Reporter Olga Zhurman] They complained that it is now quite difficult for them to get air time on local radio and television. I do not think that is quite the case, because Svetlana Goryacheva, Boris Pekedov, and Aleksey Volyntsev have already had an hour-long live radio broadcast and quite recently they took part in a live television program, which also gave them an opportunity to express their attitude to the referendum.

However, that is by the way. The opposition deputies from Maritime kray recalled that Russia's people's deputies did not initiate the referendum, which they described as a political game. Even so they called on the kray's inhabitants to turn out since, as Svetlana Petrovna Goryacheva put it, Russia's collapse could be triggered off if the referendum fails to go ahead. If it does go ahead, it could offer a way out of the crisis, depending on the outcome.

A recent plenum of the kray committee of the Russian Communist Party noted that all the political and commercial organizations supporting the president are very active. Fears were expressed that these political and commercial organizations might for some reason even go as far as outright forgery of ballots and actual intimidation of voters. Because of this the communists of Maritime kray have decided to ensure that their presence at polling stations is as large as possible.

With only a few days to go before the referendum, Vladivostok is awash with forged ballots. A woman turned up at the office of the constituency commission with a bundle of ballots. She offered to bring several more bagfuls if the commission wished. A few hours later a young man telephoned and told members of the commission that a man on the streetcar he had just taken to work had been boasting about a referendum ballot he had in his possession. According to Pavel Marchenko, deputy chairman of the constituency commission, the kray prosecutor's office has launched an investigation.

This is Olga Zhurman in Vladivostok for the news service of Russia's Radio.

Reputed Hard-Liners Come to Power in Provinces

MK2204123093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 17, 25 Apr 93 (signed to press 20 Apr) p A7

[Aleksandr Kakotkin commentary under "The Provinces" rubric: "By Their Deeds You Will Know Them...."]

[Text] The day after Anatoliy Kovlyagin took office as head of the Penza Oblast administration, the car of his predecessor, Aleksandr Kondratyev, was stopped on the street by operatives of the oblast security department. The former head was escorted to "the office" [security service headquarters] for questioning, from where he was delivered, under still unclear circumstances, to the intensive care ward in serious condition.

Like back in the good old days, operatives of the Russian Ministry of Security missed no tricks in evading direct questions from journalists, or simply told lies. All attempts at establishing the ex-"head's" guilt came to nothing. It is in such an atmosphere that the first week of work began for the new head of administration, who sees himself as an opponent of all revolutionary actions.

Well, what sort of people have come to power simultaneously in three oblasts of Central Russia?

Yegor Stroyev, former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, won by a clear margin in Orel Oblast; Mikhail Narolin, former chairman of the oblast executive committee, won in Lipetsk Oblast; and, finally, Anatoliy Kovlyagin, another former oblast executive committee chairman, virtually knocked out his rivals in Penza. Narolin is an administrator, the others are agriculture men. All three are considered good professional administrators by both their supporters and opponents. All three lost their offices in the wake of the putsch. Now they have made an almost triumphant comeback.

The new chiefs' action programs are exceptionally similar. The impression is that they were written by the same hand. They advocate an evolutionary road of reforms without any appreciable fall in the living standards of the population. State regulation of the economy, and state aid to agriculture. Consolidation of all healthy forces to support reforms, and the raising of production levels as a vital condition for the reforms. Virtually all the programs advocate an appreciable curb on foreign capital on the territory of Russia, and the transfer of property mainly to work collectives.

These programs amount to an all-purpose pragmatic program closely related to the ideas of Civic Union, or to the "Chinese variant," if you will. One can hardly object to its general provisions, but as soon as your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent tried to put specific questions to the new leaders, clarity instantly vanished from their answers.

Opinions on the new chiefs vary markedly in different oblasts. Strange as it may seem, both local democrats and partocrats voice virtually unreserved support for the head of the Penza Oblast administration. In Orel, supporters of the president give rather guarded assessments of the once-old-now-new leader; they do not, however, reject him outright. "We will see what develops in a couple of months," they say there. But in Lipetsk local democrats would not accept the present leader. "Narolin will take us back to socialism," stated Ravil Kasymov, presidential representative in the oblast. These words were indirectly backed by Narolin himself when he told your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent: "Our socialism had but one drawback—alienation of the people from property." The varying attitudes to the new leaders showed as early as the election campaign. For example, the presidential representative in Lipetsk announced that the election campaign in the oblast was held with massive and crude violations. Mikhail Narolin won having received a mere 28.7 percent of the votes with 25 percent being the bare minimum (i.e. by a minimal margin.) The position of his fellow leaders, Kovlyagin and Stroyev, was different: They scored nearly twice as many more points, and there were almost no complaints about violations....

None of the three new chiefs has taken any concrete steps that could be clues to their general policy. More than that, officially, they assiduously stress their loyalty to the president and his representatives. Even Mikhail Narolin, who knows only too well about Ravil Kasymov's hostile attitude to him, stated to your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent: "He is not in my way." This, despite the fact that it is clear to everyone that those who have come to power are far from loyal supporters of the president. Besides, each of them now has a weighty vote of confidence from the electorate of an entire oblast.

And then, who knows whether they have forgotten August 1991, which messed up their careers. Until the 25 April referendum they are watching their step. But we have a chance, as early as 26 April, to learn not only about what they say, but also about what they do....

IAEA Authorities Give Tomsk Site All Clear

LD1604193993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1736 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—Experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) fully agreed with Russian experts on the absence of radiation-ecological aftermath of the Siberian chemical plant accident in Tomsk-7.

The expert team left for Vienna, where the IAEA headquarters is located, today, sources at the Russian Nuclear Power Engineering Ministry's information and public relations department told ITAR- TASS.

Ecologists Trace Plutonium

LD1904143593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1418 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Russian ecologists have traced "indirect signs" of plutonium in the aftermath of the accident at the Tomsk-7 chemical plant, according to Andrey Ivanov, head of a commission of the State Institute of Applied Ecology which has visited the place of the accident.

Test samples are being examined, he told TASS on Monday [19 April], adding that the exact amount of "leaked" plutonium can be established only after the analysis is over.

IAEA Finds Only Third of Plutonium

AU1904163893 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Vienna, April 19 (AFP)—International inspectors have found less than a third of the plutonium that was inside a nuclear weapons plant in Siberia before an explosion there two weeks ago, officials said Monday [19 April].

"We have not been able to determine yet whether any of the plutonium was released," said David Kyd, a spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

"It is possible that the two thirds missing are somewhere inside the heavily damaged plant but we cannot exclude the possibility that some plutonium escaped," he added.

Of the 310 grams (11 ounces) at the plant before the April 6 blast, an IAEA team has located only 80 grams (three ounces), he said.

The three investigators, who visited the Tomsk site in Siberia between Thursday and Sunday of last week, gathered earth, snow and grass samples from the region. The items will be examined by IAEA labs near Vienna.

Kyd said any radioactivity from the blast should disappear within one to six months. The radioactive effect of the explosion amounted to 40 curie points, compared to the 1986 Chernobyl blast which recorded between 25 and 50 million curie points, he said.

He added that as a protective measure, about a hundred residents from a village neighboring the Tomsk plant have been evacuated for two months.

The blast occurred a chemical storage facility on the Tomsk site.

International Affairs

Kuchma Pleased With Results of Mideast Tour

MK2104141093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Apr 93 p 12

[Viktoriya Kulakova report: "Ukraine Premier in the Middle East. Leonid Kuchma Pleased With Results of Middle East Tour]

[Text] A press conference by Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma planned for 20 April did not take place, but at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center there was a news briefing on the outcome of his Middle East tour. According to Yuriy Sergeyev, head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center, one can hardly overestimate the tour's outcome: "For the first time, Ukraine went abroad with proposals for cooperation rather than hat in hand begging for help and loans." According to Leonid Kuchma, they have a better understanding of Ukraine in the Middle East than in the West because down there they well remember their own "not too distant poor past." On his return to Kiev, the premier stated at the airport that Ukraine's offers regarding mutually advantageous contacts were met everywhere with interest. Ukraine counts on Middle East oil, and in exchange it is prepared to supply metal and refined oil products. It was a fact- finding tour, and the high-level contacts will continue.

Leonid Kuchma's press conference, which KOMMERSANT-DAILY promised to report on yesterday, was called off because the prime minister had to attend a parliament session on the country's military doctrine.

In discussing this question, attention was focused on the problem of Ukraine's nonnuclear status. As the session was closed, KOMMERSANT-DAILY will give more details in its 23 April issue.

Zlenko Seeks UN Compensation for Observing FRY Sanctions

LD2304084293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0735 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations April 23—Ukraine has asked the United Nations to compensate damages caused by the world community's sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko urged the UN Security Council to introduce a more effective international mechanism for compensating damages to states observing the sanctions, including Ukraine. The request was forwarded in a letter to the chairman of the Security Council which was made public on Thursday.

Pointing to Ukraine's difficult economic situation, Zlenko said compensation to Ukraine for damages caused by the sanctions is closely connected with defending the country's economic sovereignty. The foreign minister believes the fact that Ukraine has sustained considerable damages from the sanctions should be taken into consideration by other UN countries in their relations with Ukraine, the letter states. Zlenko also believes this fact should be taken into consideration by the United Nations when it determines each countries' contributions to the UN budget.

Plyushch, Moldova's Luchinskiy Discuss Relations

LD2204205093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1909 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 22 TASS—Parliament Speakers Ivan Plyushch of Ukraine and Petru Luchinskiy of Moldova met on Thursday in Kiev in the framework of a working visit by the Moldovan parliamentary delegation to Ukraine. The speakers mapped out a range of measures aimed at improving good-neighbourly relations between the two states. This above all concerns mutual cash settlements, exchange of legislative acts on the draft stage and the situation at the Ukrainian-Moldovan border.

Special attention was paid to the settlement of the Dniester conflict. It was pointed out that a large number of ethnic Ukrainians reside in the conflict zone, while 306,000 ethnic Moldovans and 135,000 ethnic Romanians live in Ukraine. With this in view, it was proposed that all parties concerned should meet to work out a concept of economic and cultural development of national minorities.

Petru Luchinskiy informed the Ukrainian parliament chief about the lawmaking activities of the Moldovan Parliament, about the progress in discussing the draft of a new Moldovan Constitution and in privatizing capital and circulating assets.

National Affairs

Parliament Rejects Kravchuk's Military Doctrine

MK2204081493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under "Ukraine" rubric: "Military Doctrine Not Adopted. Edict on Suspending Communist Party's Activity Rescinded"]

[Text] At a closed plenary session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, reports on Ukraine's military doctrine were delivered by President Leonid Kravchuk; Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov; Valentin Lemish, chairman of the standing deputies commission for defense and state security questions; and Aleksandr Tarasenko, his deputy.

At the evening session the deputies heard information from Yuriy Kostenko, chairman of a standing working

group, about progress in the talks between the Russian and Ukrainian Government delegations regarding nuclear weapons. Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy speaker of parliament, delivered a report on the talks between the two countries on the Black Sea Fleet question.

The closed discussion of military doctrine was postponed until 22 April 1993.

During a recess in the session Ukrainian People's Deputies Stepan Khmar and Vitaliy Melnichuk agreed to comment on the document under discussion. In the deputies' opinion, Ukraine's military doctrine, despite the "for official use" stamp and strict instructions to return it to the secretariat, does not contain anything secret and should have been considered openly as a document about the state's defense policy.

Khmar stated that he would not return the document to the secretariat and would do everything to put it in the realm of glasnost. The main conclusion drawn by Khmar boils down to the fact that this particular military doctrine's adoption is a "betrayal of Ukraine's national interests," and that Kravchuk spoke like "a foreign state's agitator" and for the umpteenth time demonstrated his "inability to play the role of a president-protector of the state's interests."

Khmar and Melnichuk's main complaint was over Paragraph 1-5 headed "Ukraine's Attitude Toward Nuclear Weapons and Other Mass Destruction Weapons." It says that Ukraine takes as its basis the impossibility of a nuclear war at the present time, and will consequently adhere to three "nonnuclear" principles: not to receive, produce, or acquire nuclear weapons. Second, Ukraine is against the proliferation of new nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons technologies and the development of new technologies for producing mass destruction weapons that are based on new physical principles.

The last point, in the two deputies' opinion, puts Ukraine in a position in which it will be totally unable to develop the latest so-called "dual-purpose" technologies, which can also be used for peaceful purposes, and consequently puts Ukraine's very future as an independent state in doubt. Furthermore, in Khmar's opinion this military doctrine's adoption would enshrine Ukraine's nonnuclear status and would push it into ratifying the START I Treaty, the Lisbon Treaty, and the annex to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which would harm Ukraine.

Khmar stated that Kravchuk is being forced to take this step by the promises he has given and by pressure from the superpowers—Russia and the United States. Furthermore, according to the deputy, Ukraine will receive neither a guarantee of security nor adequate material compensation for the missiles on its territory.

On the same day, during a recess in the closed parliamentary session, the Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the question of rescinding its own edict on suspending the Ukrainian Communist Party's activity.

A decree on this question allows communist cells to be formed at local level, urges that rank-and-file communists not be persecuted and that the creation of new communist organizations be considered the creation of a new Communist Party of Ukraine and not the rehabilitation of the old party, and also suspends the validity of the said edict regarding the ban on communists' activity.

Belarus

U.S. To Grant $65 Million To Help Scrap Nuclear Weapon

WS2204123693 Minsk RID in Russian 1138 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] The United States is going to grant Belarus $65 million to help it dismantle its nuclear weapons. This has been stated by State Secretary Warren Christopher at a meeting with reporters. In his reply speech, Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka said: "To be precise, we have not yet cleared our territory of nuclear components. However, we have a sincere striving for both neutrality and non-nuclear status."

In his other speech at the Supreme Soviet, while commenting on Belarus signing the joint security treaty, Petr Kravchanka overtly advocated the stance of the government and said that "the treaty does not contradict neutrality."

Uruguay Ambassador Presents Credentials to Shushkevich

WS2304085393 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 9 Apr 93 p 1

[BELINFORM report "On Presenting Credentials"]

[Text] On 8 April 1993, Alejandro Lorenzo y Lasada, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Uruguay to Belarus, presented his credentials to Supreme Council Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich.

Alejandro Lorenzo y Lasada was born in 1939. He began his diplomatic career in 1964 as a third secretary in the Foreign Ministry. From 1966, he was a consul to Chile and later to Spain. From 1974 to 1978, he served as a second and a first secretary in the Uruguay Foreign Ministry, then as an adviser, and at last as chief of the Political Department.

From 1978, he was an adviser of the Uruguay Embassy in Chile. From 1980, he worked as charge d'affaires of Uruguay in Bulgaria. In 1986, he was appointed to the post of ambassador to Bulgaria. From 1990, he worked as an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Uruguay to Russia.

He is awarded with the Bulgarian Honorary Madara Order.

He speaks French and English.

He is married and has a daughter.

Moldova

Tiu Advocates Neutrality, Demilitarization, Independence

AU2304102393 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Apr 93 p 7

[Konrad Schuller report: "For a Neutral Republic of Moldova"]

[Text] Chisinau, 21 April—Nicolae Tiu does not grieve over the loss of the empire that made him big. The perished Soviet Union granted him, now the foreign minister of the independent Republic of Moldova, all privileges of which talented careerists could be sure: The study of mechanical engineering, the doctor's degree obtained in a flash, and finally the post of the party secretary of the capital, Chisinau, which was still called Kishinev in Russian at that time, might have become stages of a solid apparatchik career. But things developed differently. Instead of serving an industrial empire bristling with weapons, Tiu wishes today his small republic an agrarian future as a neutral, demilitarized, and above all independent state. He raves about the advantages of the market economy and political pluralism as only those can who have to acquire such views laboriously. As a young man, he was firmly convinced that the Soviet Union is the most democratic of all states, he reports today. Later, however, when he, as a fresh engineer, had to witness week by week how his subordinates passed by his desk to find out from him what they had to do, he had his first doubts. "I would have had to be a computer to program every one of them," Tiu says today. At that time, the party functionary was beginning to understand, and this was not at all easy for him, that the excessive concentration of power does not accumulate successes, but errors. At that time, he gained an insight that has guided his actions until today: "Results count." In this way, he urged subordinates to act independently and thus does he answer critics today who reproach him for his party career: "Five years ago, nobody would have dared open his mouth." Today, however, there is a free press and five groups in the parliament.

As foreign minister, Tiu also follows the principle that results count. When last year in the Dniester region, the main settlement area of the Russian-Ukrainian minority in Romanian-speaking Moldova, heavy fighting raged because many Russians wanted the empire to return, while many Moldovans wanted accession to Romania, the concept of an independent Moldova seemed to be the only way over the abyss of civil war.

Until today, Tiu has felt the presence of the 14th Army in the Dniester region as a threat. In last year's fighting, its soldiers supported the Russian separatists. However, the reason for the reestablishment of peace was that the Moldovan leadership used the basic conflict between Russian soldiers and guerrillas, which reflects the conflicts in Moscow. It succeeded in having General Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, a nostalgic of the perished Soviet

Union, stopped by President Yeltsin. A victory of the old guard in the former Moldovan Soviet Republic was not in accordance with Yeltsin's wishes. But the price that Moldova had to pay was the renunciation of reunification with Romania. Yeltsin would not have been able to afford to put more than 1 million Russians and Ukrainians into Romania's hands. Today Tiu and President Snegur are banking on their republic's independence from the historical motherland; whether they do this only to keep their posts, as their critics claim, or to protect the people in Moldova from a civil war is uncertain. Polls have shown that 90 percent of the Moldovans approve of this policy. A neutral, demilitarized Moldova, which keeps equally away from the West as from Russia in the field of defense and foreign policy, is the present course. Whether reunification with Romania will become possible someday is a question that contradicts the foreign minister's awareness of topical political ideas: His grandsons should decide on this, Tiu says.

Tiu Holds Talks With Russians on Improving Relations

AU2204120393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2010 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 21/4/1993—The communique released by the Mass Media Department of the Ministry of External Affairs of Moldova declared that the subject of discussions which took place today [21 April] in the Ministry of External Affairs in Chisinau concerned ways of resolving the problems which exist in the relations between Moldova and the Russian Federation. Nicolae Tiu, the Minister of External Affairs of Moldova offered an audience to a group of Ministry of External Affairs experts from Russia, which was headed by Igor Yakovlev, the Chief of the CIS Department. In the course of the dialogue the parties expressed their views based on the possibilities of improving Moldovan-Russian relations and the elaboration and signing of a protocol of collaboration between those two Ministries.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Reaffirms Support for Yeltsin's Reform Policy

LD2304085593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0624 GMT 23 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo April 23 TASS—Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev has announced that he resolutely supports the reform policy, pursued by Boris Yeltsin. He expressed hope for the success of transformations in Russia and the desire to develop friendly relations with it. Akayev, who is here on a five-day visit, said it at the dinner on Thursday night, which was given for him by Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa after the end of bilateral talks.

President Akayev said he hoped very much that Yeltsin would be given support at the April 25 referendum. Russian citizens understand well the importance of the referendum, he pointed out. He believes the majority of electors will take part in the voting.

Akayev said in an interview with the NHK TV company that if Yeltsin suffered a defeat, the conservatives which have supporters in all the CIS member states "will begin the restoration of the former communist empire... This will start a civil war, a major cataclysm on the vast Eurasian continent."

Government To Control Exports of Weapons Grade Materials

LD2204141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1305 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondent Albert Bogdanov for TASS]

[Text] Bishkek April 22 TASS—Kyrgyzstan has introduced strict control on exports of raw products and materials which are used in making weapons of mass destruction.

The state customs department will keep an eye on exports and imports under which a special commission will begin to operate within a month's time, a Kyrgyzstan Government resolution, published today, stated.

Japan Grants Government $60 Million Loan

LD2204165593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo April 22 TASS—Japan granted Kyrgyzstan a 60 million dollar loan for the development of the Central Asian republic and will facilitate its joining the Asian Bank of Development, it was announced after an hour-long meeting of Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and visiting President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev on Thursday.

In addition to 2.25 million dollars of urgent humanitarian aid to the republic, Tokyo will allocate one million dollars for the vaccination of the Kyrgyz population and will donate 50 million yen for purchases of musical instruments for the national opera and ballet theatre of Kyrgyzstan.

A Japanese governmental delegation will visit Kyrgyzstan this summer to probe the possibilities of bilateral cooperation.

Akayev invited the Japanese prime minister to visit Bishkek.

Uzbekistan

Karimov, CSCE Chairman Discuss Aid

LD2104223793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Shakhnoza Ganiyeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Acute and topical questions for the Central Asian region were discussed at a meeting between President Islam Karimov and Mrs. Margaret af Uuglaas, chairman of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The countries which have recently embarked on the road of independence are naturally in need of concrete aid from the CSCE in shaping the legal foundations of a state and in creating democratic institutions. These problems were the subject of a meeting of experts of the CSCE and representatives of public organizations, and scientific and cultural figures of Uzbekistan. Market reforms are being resolutely carried out in this country, and, in my view, will be even more effective if they are carried out in parallel with democratic changes. Only this will give a strong basis for the development of society. Uzbekistan—I am sure of this—will become an open country.

Delegation Leaves for Ozal's Funeral

LD2104084093 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0145 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The Uzbek delegation headed by Yuldashev left Tashkent for Ankara yesterday to take part in the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. [passage omitted]

Armenia

Turkish Military Buildup on Border Reported

MK2204092493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Armenia"]

[Text] A buildup of military equipment and personnel, the stepping up of military reconnaissance, and training maneuvers by the Turkish Armed Forces can be observed on the Armenian-Turkish border.

Specifically, the Turkish military is constructing defense installations and bringing subunits up to strength, increasing the number of servicemen, and reinforcing them with additional armored vehicles and helicopters.

Supreme Soviet Debates, Adopts Budget, Economic Programs

NC2104183993 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] During its 20 April session, the Armenian Supreme Soviet continued debating the draft socioeconomic program and state budget for 1993.

During the morning sitting, chaired by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Artashes Tumanyan, the deputies exchanged views on the government drafts. Despite some criticism and proposals, most of the 20 deputies who spoke at the session basically defended the drafts, which chart the main course of the economic policy for the current year.

The Supreme Soviet observed a minute of silence in memory of Shahen Megryan, a people's deputy of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Supreme Soviet and guerrilla leader, who was killed during the self- defense battles.

Armenian Economy Minister Armen Yegiazaryan and Finance Minister Levon Barkhudaryan spoke at the evening sitting and provided further details to deputies.

Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan discussed the need for constructive relations between the parliament and government to overcome the problems facing the republic.

The prime minister also briefly enumerated the main principles underlying the economic policy and said he hopes economic growth and a stable standard of living will be achieved soon.

The parliament voted to confirm that the state budget for 1991 [as heard] has been fulfilled. It also adopted Armenia's state budget for 1993 with some addenda and amendments.

A draft version of a socioeconomic development program for 1993 was also put to vote. The Supreme Soviet adopted the government's program.

The Supreme Soviet then ended its extraordinary session.

Ter-Petrosyan, Turkish Prime Minister Discuss Karabakh

PM2204153493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1310 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara April 22 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan met with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel in Ankara on Wednesday. The talks were attended by Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan and Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin.

After the meeting Demirel pointed out that Turkey was making all possible efforts to settle the Armenian-Azeri conflict. He came out for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of Armenian troops from the Azeri territory.

The Armenian president pointed out that a sound atmosphere was created in Ankara for the solution of the Karabakh problem. He expressed the hope that contacts established in Ankara would yield positive results.

The Armenian president arrived in Turkey to attend the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal, who passed away on April 17 following heart failure.

Abrahamyan Holds Briefing on Talks

NC2204192993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by Grigor Gozalyan from the news conference held by Armenian Presidential Press Secretary Aram Abrahamyan in Yerevan on 22 April—recorded]

[Text] [Gozalyan] Speaking at the news conference, the president's press secretary informed reporters about President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's visit to Turkey, in particular the talks he held with Turkish and Azerbaijani leaders, and on the results of the agreements reached.

In giving a preliminary assessment of the visit, describing it as an important contribution to regional politics, Abrahamyan said:

[Abrahamyan] The first meeting between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan should be singled out. Moved by a sincere desire to bring about this meeting, the leaders of a number of countries offered to mediate between the two sides. Elchibey and Ter-Petrosyan met without mediators. The fact that their first meeting was a direct one is of great importance. The Armenian president clearly enumerated our Republic's position on the Karabakh problem; that is, first a cease-fire and then discussion of Karabakh's status. The sides agreed to support the CSCE's efforts to establish a cease-fire.

There was a moment when Azerbaijan, for various reasons, was inclined to refuse the CSCE's mediation.

Now this has changed. This meeting, as well as the subsequent meetings, bring us to the following conclusion:

Terminating the armed conflict and transferring it to the political stage is possible in the near future. This is borne out not only by the meeting with Elchibey, but also by the talks held with the leaders of other countries who in one way or other could influence on the course of the conflict.

[Gozalyan] Here we should inform our listeners that at the end of the talks between the Azerbaijani and Armenian presidents in Turkey, Ter-Petrosyan expressed satisfaction with the outcome of what he termed constructive talks with the Azerbaijani president, and told reporters: Both sides agreed to continue the dialogue and prefer to negotiate within the CSCE framework.

Karabakh Calls For Cease-Fire; CSCE Observers End Visit

NC2204175993 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh's State Press and Information Department has informed us that there has been relative peace throughout the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] during the past few days. The only exception has been artillery shelling opened on NKR self-defense forces positions near Khorabad in Mardakertskiy Rayon.

As we already reported, an advance group of CSCE observers had been visiting Karabakh since 20 April. The group left Nagorno- Karabakh today for Agdam.

The group met Nagorno-Karabakh's leaders and examined a number of technical and organizational matters related to the arrival and functions of a large number of CSCE observers in the conflict zone.

The NKR authorities expressed readiness to facilitate productive work by the observers, provided an unconditional bilateral cease- fire is established.

Relative calm has continued to prevail on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border for the last four days. The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service informed ARMENPRES that no serious incidents took place on 21 April.

Azerbaijan

World Economic Forum Delegation Visits Baku

LD2204201093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By AZERTAJ correspondent Elmira Askerova for TASS]

[Text] Baku April 22 TASS—A delegation of the international organization "The World Economic Forum", making a tour of a number of former Soviet republics, visited Baku on Thursday.

During the visit foreign businessmen met with Azeri entrepreneurs. The meeting was attended by Azeri Secretary of State Panakh Guseynov and Azeri acting Prime Minister Ali Masimov.

Touching upon Russo-Azeri relations, Guseynov said that no matter how far Azerbaijan distanced itself from Russia, Russia remains our great neighbour having its own strategic interests in Azerbaijan. He noted that Russia remains a good market for Azeri sales. "So far, we do not feel that we are foreigners in Russia," Guseynov said.

Later in the day, President of the World Economic Forum Claus Schwab, Panakh Guseynov and 'Ali Masimov gave a news conference. Schwab said that the introduction of the Azeri national currency, strong economic ties with Turkey and a possibility of accumulating hard currency show Azerbaijan's preparedness to integrate into the world economy. The president of the international economic forum said that the programme of the tour included only "those republics of the former Soviet Union which have natural resources" and follow the way of reforms.

On the same day the delegation left Baku.

Kamberov Meets Iranian Ambassador, Views Situation

NC2304054393 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1330 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Our ambassador in Baku met with the chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet and criticized irresponsible remarks made by some prominent Azerbaijani officials, stressing that such remarks have a negative impact on relations between the two countries.

During the meeting, Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Isa Kamberov admitted that his country is facing many problems in the process of creating its political structure and that one of these problems is the irresponsible remarks of some officials. Kamberov said he hopes these problems will be gradually solved with the formation of the structure. He requested that a government as large as the Islamic Republic of Iran not take items published in the Azerbaijani press as gospel.

Kamberov underlined the significance of Islamic Iran's regional role and called for the expansion and continuation of our country's assistance to the people of Azerbaijan. He also requested that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran use its moral and material influence to compel Armenia to withdraw from the Azerbaijani territories it has occupied.

Economic Adviser on National Currency, Oil Line via Iran

NC2304102393 Baku TURAN in Azeri 1334 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, 22 Apr (TURAN)—Vakhid Akhundov, an adviser to the president on economic issues, told a

TURAN correspondent that Azerbaijan is prepared to fully move to its national currency at any time. He noted, however, that doing so would be mostly a political move. Azerbaijan's wish to leave the ruble behind is being opposed to a certain degree and this should be taken into consideration before adopting a binding decision. Akhundov thinks our currency will be adequately supported by gold and this will be the basis of our success.

Akhundov also said Azerbaijan wants the oil pipeline to Iskenderun to pass through Iran, not Armenia. He said the West does not trust the Iranian regime, but we do not trust the Armenian regime.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Responds to Demand for Government's Resignation

LD2204202893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Now here are two recordings from today's parliamentary session. The first speaker is Yviliane Khaindrava [member of Republican Party]. This is followed by Eduard Shevardnadze's response to Mr. Khaindrava's statement.

[Begin recording] [Khaindrava] Esteemed members of parliament. Yesterday we asked the Collegium to allow us to make a statement today. [passage omitted] I will now proceed directly to read out the statement:

Six months have passed since 11 October when elections were held in Georgia, and more than a year since a civilian government embodied by the State Council was formed in Georgia. [passage omitted] We now deem it necessary:

1. That the full Cabinet of Ministers resign and that the head of state submit to parliament a list of members of government who are chosen for the Cabinet, and who will be led by the head of state himself;

2. That the operation of the National Security and Defense Council be suspended, that its functions be taken over by the reorganized Cabinet of Ministers, and that its operation may only be resumed after the appropriate law has been adopted by parliament;

3. That parliament and the head of state work out a plan of action, and that for the next 6 months parliament's activity be confined to adopting laws and preparing the new draft constitution. [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] Except for the authors of the proposal, I do not know if there is anybody else ready to answer this question. The republicans are probably ready for this, since they have raised the issue. Where is the way out? I am not ready for this. The problem is more serious than it looks at first glance. You are saying that we now have a bad government, that we should let it go, and that tomorrow we will have a better government and everything will be alright. The same applies to parliament. If anybody is responsible for the work of parliament, then I should probably also be held responsible. We must apply a little self-criticism. [passage omitted]

Where do our problems stem from? They stem from the fact that we are not ready to govern the state and the country. Let us not forget that we are not a state today. It is very difficult for me to speak about that, but this is how things stand. [passage omitted] If we could form a government that would be even slightly better than the present one, I would vote for that. I think that what the Government has done has not been read properly. They say that the Government has no program. True, there is no comprehensive program. [Words indistinct] I would not like to offend anybody, but I do not think that more than 10 percent of those present in this room have read the program. [passage omitted]

I am not saying that our prime minister is perfect. He has an infinite number of shortcomings. So does the head of state. You may sack him 10 times a day and the same applies to any minister. [passage omitted]

We are on the brink of catastrophe. We are facing catastrophe. We are on the brink of the abyss. Either we go right under or by some miracle we are saved. [passage omitted] You can put me in charge of the Cabinet of Ministers or anything else, but I cannot do more than I am doing at the moment.

American grain, which is running out, will be finished in two to two and one-half months. What are we going to do in two and one- half months? Will a change of chairman of the government help? Or a change of head of state? We went to Ukraine and used up a day and a half. We should not have gone. We are trying to establish ties so that when our supplies run out these ties may help us. We held talks with Kazakhstan. Not everything can be made public and discussed. There are people sitting preparing agreements. We may receive 200 or 300 tonnes [of grain] from Kazakhstan. You may laugh, but I am preparing to go to China because there are new opportunities. They are interested in mineral fertilizers and perhaps we can barter fertilizers for grain and rice and bring rice in. Perhaps we can do the same with some other countries.

Perhaps there was no need to go to Turkey. But these conversations continued there, and perhaps we could get certain guarantees there. Perhaps we can escape starvation, and in parallel with that settle elementary matters and achieve a new start. [passage omitted]

You know why we did not confirm the defense minister and did not put the issue before parliament. It was because it was a difficult issue to resolve. I was not sure that Tengiz Kitovani would receive enough votes from parliament for confirmation. I was not sure. I cannot say whether I am sure now or not. We can put it before parliament tomorrow. I think it would be amoral to discuss him in his absence. When he comes let us discuss the matter. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Shevardnadze, Turkey's Demirel Discuss Future of Caucasus

LD2204171793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Suleyman Demirel: This has been a remarkable initiative. Before leaving Ankara Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, held talks with the Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. They exchanged views on the global and regional situation, in particular the situation in the Transcaucasus. The prime minister expressed great satisfaction at the beginning of a direct dialogue at the top level between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Ankara, initiated and mediated by the Georgian head of state.

We appreciate your efforts, initiative, and diplomatic skill, Demirel said. Many have tried for a long time to organize such a meeting to no avail. What you have managed to achieve is a good, hopeful new development for the world.

Eduard Shevardnadze presented Suleyman Demirel with his ideas and proposals concerning the organization on a permanent basis of a dialogue between the leaders of the Transcaucasian states. We agreed that after the face to face meeting between Presidents Elchibey and Ter-Petrosyan in Ankara, we will call a full Transcaucasian summit to discuss principles and mechanisms of our cooperation aimed at peace and security in the region, first and foremost the settlement of existing conflicts.

Suleyman Demirel stressed that all internal conflicts have long since lost their local nature and seriously affect life in neighboring countries. He expressed concern over the situation in Karabakh and Abkhazia. He said that the restoration of peace, law, and order in the region must concern all the states.

In agreeing with this, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the conflict in Abkhazia can only be settled by political means by the parties to this conflict. The Georgians and Abkhazians have nothing to fight for. Unfortunately, an external force guided by its own material self-interest is undermining the search for ways leading to peace. It is hard to overcome a painful historical legacy. This is why the Caucasus factor must become one of the dominant elements in world politics, said Shevardnadze.

The Turkish prime minister reiterated his government's readiness to render comprehensive assistance to Georgia, one of the key countries in the region.

Peace in the Transcaucasus will create remarkable prospects for cooperation between Asian and European countries, and will help link the Black and Caspian Sea basins, switching Central Asian republics into an economic alliance. There are several promising projects to this end. Their implementation is, apart from being in our interests, in the interests of Iran, Ukraine, Moldova, the Caspian Sea, and Baltic countries. The idea is taking shape of extensive cooperation between countries of the Black, Caspian, and Baltic Sea basins, said Eduard Shevardnadze.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of mutual frankness. The Georgian side was also represented in the discussion by Aslan Abashidze and Aleksandr Chikvaydze.

That was an item from SAKINFORM.

Parliament Appeals to Abkhazia To Negotiate

LD2204170593 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Georgian 1253 GMT 22 Apr 93

Today, the Georgian parliament made an appeal to the Abkhazian people, in which it calls on its representatives, elders, and deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia to meet with members of the Georgian parliament, in order to discuss and map out ways of settling the problems that exist. This is demanded by the centuries-old traditions of relations between the Georgian and Abkhazian peoples.

Roundup of Fighting in Abkhazia

LD2304110593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As you know, yesterday turned out to be a hard day for Sukhumi. The town was bombed again and there are casualties. We will start our news bulletin with the information we received from Sukhumi this morning. Soso Margishvili, head of the press center for the main headquarters of the Georgian armed forces in Abkhazia, is on the line from Sukhumi.

[Unidentified reporter] According to the latest information available to us, there was intense shelling from both sides in the Gumista region. How did events develop and what is happening now?

[Margishvili] It is quiet and there is no combat action in progress at this time. The enemy bombed the town of Sukhumi quite heavily. More than 10 shells were fired at the town, as a result of which there are several dead and wounded. Several buildings have been damaged as well. The most noteworthy fact is that the town was shelled with 152-mm howitzers. This is rather large-caliber artillery. According to our data, the Abkhazians do not have it in their armament.

The shelling took place from the Eshera region, at the so-called Height 770, where the radar of the Russian soldiers is installed. All this is rather strange. The shelling took place at approximately 1400 and by 1800 combat actions had resumed. The enemy opened fire again, this time at the Gumista River. It attacked our positions using heavy arms, mortars, and other types of combat arms. Our side had to retaliate with heavy shelling. Positional battles lasted for about 70 minutes. Having suffered considerable losses, the enemy ceased activities. Unfortunately, three of our soldiers were wounded in this battle, one of them seriously.

As for Ochamchire Rayon, there were no combat actions there.

[Reporter] Units under Loti Kobalia [supporter of former President Gamsakhurdia] have entered Ochamchire.

[Margishvili] Yes, Vakhtang Kobalia's military formation entered Ochamchire Rayon from Zugdidi. The Georgian population of Abkhazia reacted very positively to this event. [passage omitted]

I would like to stress the warm welcome from the Abkhazian population for Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani. Despite the rumors that Kitovani was plotting a coup, he has managed to lay a foundation for uniting the Georgian armed forces. [passage omitted] We will see how our new cooperation develops in the future.

[Reporter] Thank you for your information.

[Announcer] In connection with Loti Kobalia's units entering Ochamchire, head of state Eduard Shevardnadze said he has always hoped that all regions of Megrelia would fight for Georgia's state unity and independence. Good proof of this is that people from Zugdidi, Senaki, Poti, Khobi, Abasha, Martvili, Tsalenjikha, and Tchkhorotsku are participating in the fight to defend Georgia's interests. As for several hundred men entering Ochamchire, Eduard Shevardnadze welcomes this fact and thinks that this is an important step toward national unity and the fight for Georgia's territorial integrity.

Estonia

Defense Minister Comments on Russian Military Exercises

LD2204122493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Urmas Loit]

[Excerpts] The Russian Federation's Northwestern Group of Forces are holding General Staff exercises from 19 to 23 April. A full combat alert was introduced on 20 April. The subject of the exercises is the defense of the Russian Federation's military installations, the capture of strategically important installations in the Baltic states to hold them until the arrival of the main forces, and control over radio communications. The exercises are being led by General Mayorov and will conclude tomorrow.

A comment from Defense Minister Hain Rebas:

[Begin recording] This means that in Latvia there is active work going on, that plans are being drawn up on—and I quote—capturing strategically important installations in the Baltic states and holding them until the arrival of the main forces. All this, the whole plan, sounds somehow reminiscent of the one written 53 or 54 years ago. The aspect of control over radio communication lines means that everything necessary will be listened to, and even what is not necessary. [passage omitted] [end recording]

We are talking here about General Staff exercises, which means indoor exercises with a map, in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. At the same time, a highly qualified Russian paratroop division and the special units which withdrew from Viljandi are deployed one and a half kilometers from the current administrative border. [passage omitted]

The Defense Ministry and the defense forces General Staff are acting according to the situation. The defense minister did not consider it possible to reveal the Estonian side's countersteps. The Defense Ministry is in constant touch with both Latvian and Lithuanian Defense Ministries. The Estonian military attache in Moscow has been alerted and our Foreign Ministry is working. A note from our Foreign Ministry to Russia has not been ruled out.

Calls Maneuvers 'Direct Provocation'

WS2304094393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1800 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Tallinn, April 22—Russia's North Western army group is holding military training "in the Baltic direction" on April 19- 23, the Estonian Ministry of Defence informed ETA.

The maneuvers led by General Mayorov are aimed at training guarding and defending military objects, taking over strategically important objects and defending them until support forces arrive. They are also training how to control radio communications, the Ministry said.

Estonia's defence forces are following and checking the situation, the Minister of Defence, Hain Rebas, told a government briefing on Thursday without further elaborating.

Rebas called Russia's action a "direct provocation" and added that the training may be directly linked to Sunday's referendum in Russia.

Tartu Council Wants To Deport Russian Military

PM2204155993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Tartu Ready to Deport the Military and their Families"]

[Text] Russian servicemen and members of their families who do not have residence permits must be forcibly deported from Estonia—by the police.

This decision was made by the Tartu City Council. It proposed that the government annul before 1 September all documents enabling the military and their families to stay in the city. As an exception, pensioners can be granted residence permits for one year.

The city council, according to its chairman A. Lukas, realized that the decree is controversial. But, he said, "it is necessary to bring pressure to bear so that those who should not be in Estonia leave." Although there are officials in Tartu who doubt whether the planned deportation of the military and their families is realistic.